

MODERN PERSIAN POETRY

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Sukhanvarān-i Irān dar 'Aṣr-i Hāzir

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FOREWORD

Mr. Mohammad Ishaque, who has compiled an anthology of the poets of modern Iran in two volumes with sound critical taste and judgment, has chosen "Modern Persian Poetry" as the subject of his thesis for the London doctorate. Surely, no happier theme could have been selected, and no person could be better qualified to write on it than Mr. Ishaque who has made a careful and most erudite study of the subject. For those of us Indians who have studied Persian, it possesses a special interest. We are familiar with the old classics such as Saadi, Hafiz, Firdausi, Jami and Rumi, to say nothing of Omar Khayyam who has attained world fame through several English translations, but modern Persian poetry is almost a closed book to us. Few of us know anything about the considerable mass of poetical literature that has sprung up in Persia during the past fifty years. Mr. Ishaque's dissertation is therefore all the more welcome as it deals critically and in detail with the whole of this modern literature. It indeed reveals to us quite a new world on discovering which one has the same feelings as Keats had on reading Homer in Chapman's translation which he likens to those of Pizarro "gazing silent on a peak in Darien".

The poetry of a nation is the reflex of its life and thought. It clearly reflects its hopes and aspirations as well as its trials and tribulations. Often it is profoundly influenced by external events which affect the world at large no less than by great popular movements from within. Popular feelings often find expression in popular songs. Thus, among the various causes that Mr. Ishaque believes to have influenced modern Persian poetry he mentions such events as the last World War, the Russo-Japanese War and the revolutionary movement initiated in the closing years of the last century by men of intellect like Sayyid Jamaluddin Afghani.

During the period that followed the great classics, Persian poetry, like Urdu poetry which imitated it, had fallen into decadence and had become confined to conventional subjects and to stereotyped forms of expression. There was, for instance, the eternal rose and the nightingale and the beauty (always very conventional) of the beloved. But in the renaissance brought about by the modern liberal movement in Iran, a breach was made with the past. Many old customs and traditions were given up, whilst in literature the conventional poetry of an older generation gradually gave place to verse that was both more free and more virile, although the rules of prosody itself did not undergo any marked change.

Conservatism in literature is perhaps more obstinate than in other things. People feel a natural

diffidence in making a bold deviation from approved and accepted forms. There is no sudden revolution here as there is in politics. It therefore took nearly fifty years for the transition to be effected from the old school of Persian poetry to the new when at last the Persian Muse burst the bonds forged for her by convention. In Urdu literature a similar change from the past is represented by such poets as Hali, Akbar and Iqbal. Mr. Ishaque has carefully traced this change in the poets of the Persian Renaissance. Commencing from those who retained both the conventional subjects and the old forms, he goes on to those who chose wider and more liberal themes but adhered to the old forms, and finally proceeds to mention those who boldly changed both form and matter. This transition he divides into three distinct periods. Incidentally he goes into numerous other details such as the distribution of these poets among the several provinces of Iran, the new metrical experiments made by some of them, the borrowing of new words and expressions from various foreign languages—chiefly French and English, and the coining of others. In a brief foreword like this one can do no more than allude to these details which are nevertheless full of interest and cover not an inconsiderable portion of the thesis.

The broad question is this: What is the value of these poems which so faithfully reflect the national struggles, the aims and aspirations, of a whole people, when regarded, not as national or patriotic

lore but on their own merit as pieces of literature? Has this renaissance thrown up some giant like Homer or Shakespeare, Dante or Milton or some Valmiki or Firdausi or Khayyam who, transcending the bounds of nationality and of time, has written, not for a particular country or period but for all time and for all nations, one who has, in short, to give a message to the whole of humanity?

I doubt if there is a genius so great as that among these modern poets of Iran. But it is yet too early to pass any verdict. Time will sift the bullion from the dross and preserve what is of permanent value; for what is ephemeral in literature disappears in the course of time and is consigned to oblivion, while humanity with its instinct of self-preservation retains and cherishes what is best. This is because nations survive by their contribution to world culture rather than by brute conquest. A people sees unerringly what is best and most worth preserving in its poetry and art and clings to it for its own preservation. If there is nothing of outstanding merit in all this modern Persian poetry, there is nevertheless much in it that is excellent, and the author of the thesis is right in saying that many of the poets mentioned by him will find a permanent place in Persian literature. Prominent among them are some women who have been the moving spirits of the social no less than the literary revolution.

For the rest, Persian is a beautiful language; its

musical cadences, its all-embracing vocabulary, its terse and clear expression, are qualities which charm the reader; added to all this is the sparkling wit for which the Persians are justly noted. These qualities which constitute the innate genius of the language, are present in abundant measure in the modern poetical literature under review as will be seen from the verses quoted by Mr. Ishaque, and more especially from those he has collected in his admirable Anthology.

To sum up, this thesis which has been offered by Mr. Ishaque and approved for his doctorate, is a conscientious and laborious piece of work which shows painstaking research as well as great erudition. It forms a valuable contribution to the contemporary criticism and should be welcomed by all lovers of literature.

Hyderabad,

Deccan.

15th July, 1943.

PREFACE

THE present work is substantially my Doctorate thesis submitted to the University of London. It presents a critical account of the poets and poetry of modern Īrān. In the wake of the Constitutional-movement in Īrān, Persian poetry suffered a considerable change. If the classical poetry is theoretical in meaning and expression, the modern poetry is eminently practical: a new consciousness and a new outlook characterize it.

In order to gather a first-hand knowledge, I travelled twice to Īrān, for the first time in 1930 and subsequently in 1934. During the eight months I spent in the country, I visited important cities and centres of learning and had long talks with the poets and poetesses. After returning to India I published the materials collected in Īrān in two volumes¹ of an anthology entitled *Sukhanvarān-i Īrān dar 'Asr-i Hāzir*, both of which were favourably reviewed in Great Britain², France, Germany, America, Īrān and India.

A general survey with a critical estimate of the

¹ Vol. I (1933), pp. 7+455+18; Vol. II (1937), pp. 23+482+7.

² Prof. V. Minorsky in the *BSOS*, VIII, I, 1935, pp. 254-55 and IX, I, 1937, pp. 256-57 and Prof. R. A. Nicholson in the *JRAS*, 1935, pt. ii, p. 395 and 1939, pt. iii, p. 439.

position of modern Persian poetry as attempted in the following pages was a desideratum, and thus viewed, the present work may justly be regarded as a critical supplement to the anthology containing the data on which this dissertation is mainly based.

In 1934 I had the privilege of meeting Prof. V. Minorsky at the celebration of Firdausi Millennium held at Tīhrān and Tūs. It was under his guidance that I was able to present this thesis.

The present work comprises seven chapters. It deals with the preparatory period of modern Persian poetry and then introduces the poets chronologically, with their individual characteristics. The themes and certain general problems are studied, such as the development of the language, metres and verse-forms. The changes are considered in their double aspect, i.e., both as an independent indigenous development and as a result of external influences. The concluding chapter contains certain general observations considered relevant to the work as a whole.

It may be remarked that Persian poetry after Jāmī degenerated into an art of versification. The poets depended too much on early patterns and did not go beyond the conventional forms of the *qaṣīda*, *ghazal* and *masnawī*, with their respective themes and imagery. Muhtasham of Kāshān developed the *marṣīya* or composition of threnodies, while Dāvari Qā'ānī and Yaghmā revived some older forms of poetry, such as the *mussammaṭ*, *tarjī-band* and

the University as a teacher in the Department of Arabic and Persian, fostered my literary ambition.

In the academic circle, amongst my distinguished senior colleagues, I am much indebted to Prof. B. M. Barua not only for the inspiration for arduous researches in the field of Islāmic culture as a whole, but also for his helpful and constructive criticisms.

I cannot forget the many friendly acts and words of encouragement from such great lovers of Islāmic learning as the late Sir Denison and Lady Ross, Prof. J. R. Firth, Dr. and Mrs. Lockhart, Messrs. S. H. Taqi-zadeh, now Iranian Minister in London, M. A. Djamal-zadeh of the International Labour Office, Geneva, and M. Minovi. I must not omit to mention that I received some valued suggestions from Messrs. Firth, Taqi-zadeh and Minovi.

Outside the academic circle, I found in my eldest brother Khān Ṣāhib Al-Hāj 'Abdu'l-Ḥalīm a true friend and guide to materially help me with his precious advice and encouragement to keep up the true spirit of a researcher. But the debt I owe him is too great to be repaid by a formal expression of gratitude.

The Hon'ble Nawab Mahdi Yar Jung Bahadur, Education Member, Hyderabad (Deccan), has placed me under a deep debt of gratitude by his courtesy in writing a foreword to this work.

I cannot conclude this preface without gratefully mentioning also the name of Mr. Satischandra Ghosh, Inspector of Colleges and Mr. Sailendranath

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ADDENDA

Vahid-i Dastagardî died on the 23rd of December 1942.

'Ibrat also died recently but the exact date of his death is not known.

CORRIGENDA

- Page 5 Line 21 *Read no more the for no more than.*
" 6 " 23 " *popular for more popular.*
" 14 " 4 " *Tabriz should be under Āzarbāyjān and not under*
Īsfahān.
" 45 " 17 " *poets for psoet.*
" 130 " 4 " *entered for has entered.*
" 148 " 19 " *poems for poem.*
" 150 " 15, 16 " *On behalf of Iranians for on their behalf.*
" 177 " 1 " *foot-note 371 for 651.*
" 185 " 9 " *who gives for gives.*
" 185 " 20 " *omit he.*
" 189 " 27 " *The for There is a.*
" 109 fn. 8 }
" 110 fn. 2 }
" 156 fn. 3 } " *Mihir for Mīhr.*

I

BIRTH

Birth of modern poetry.

The birth of modern poetry of Irān is in one sense prior, and has in another sense run parallel, to the birth of young Irān. The great problem before the Iranian people was how to terminate the oppression and misrule of the Qājārs on the one hand, and how to rescue Irān from the tightening grip of the Anglo-Russian Agreement, on the other. The agonies of mind, so acutely felt by the poets, were all due to this situation. The problem before these poets was how to free the spirit of men and women from the grip of the habits and traditions of society and religion. Modern poets treat diverse subjects with a determination to see their country happier and stronger in all possible ways. These new cravings could not find an adequate expression in the forms and language adapted either to traditional epics or to highly specific mystic theories. Consequently the forms had also to be modified to satisfy fresh demands.

Poetry follows the general evolution of society.

Among the world events and changes that have bearings upon the birth of the new national consciousness and consequently, to a certain extent,

upon modern Persian poetry, are the:

1. The growing contact with the West;
2. The *Bábí* religious movement¹, characterized by the fiery outbursts of Qutbi'l-'Ayn² and other *Bábí* martyrs;
3. The revolutionary agitation started by Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn³ and the articles published in the *Ziyā'u'l-Khusrau*⁴ ("The Light of the East and the West") and the *Qanūn*⁵ ("Law"), in which he and the Armenian Malkom Khān⁶ fiercely attacked Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh⁷ and his Government;
4. The Russo-Japanese War⁸ resulting in the defeat of Russia and the sudden rise of Japan to the position of a World Power;
5. The political and social changes in the Caucasus after the Russo-Japanese War as reflected in the organs of Bākū and Tiflis; such as the *Irshād* ("Direction"), *Hayāt* ("Life"), *Sharq-i Rūs* ("Eastern Russia") and *Mullā*

¹ Started in A.D. 1844.

² Put to death in A.D. 1852. See my article "Qutbi'l-'Ayn—a Bábí Martyr," published in the *Calcutta Press*, May, 1912.

³ Born in Shāhān, 1234 October-November, 1853 and died on Shāwāl 5, 1314/March 9, 1897.

⁴ A bilingual monthly magazine (in Arabic and English) started in London in February, 1892.

⁵ A Persian periodical started by Malkom Khān in London on February 20, 1890. Forty-one numbers of this paper appeared. See *PPMP.*, p. 125 and *Persian Revolution*, pp. 35-42.

⁶ Born at Isfahān in A.H. 1219/A.D. 1803-31; died in Rome in the year A.H. 1326/A.D. 1908.

⁷ Born July 17, 1831; ascended the throne September 17, 1848; assassinated May 1, 1896.

⁸ The War began February 8, 1904 and ended September 5, 1905.

- Nasru'd-Dīn* published in Caucasian Turkish ;
6. The growing revolt against the demoralized Muslim clergy and the misrule of the autocratic Qājār dynasty ;
 7. The apprehension caused by the Anglo-Russian Agreement of 1907 which endangered the integrity of Irān ;
 8. The last Great European War with its thrilling episodes and momentous effects, such as the Russian Revolution resulting in the fall of the Czar and the formation of the Soviet Government, the establishment of the League of Nations, the Youth and Woman Movements all over the world ; and
 9. The propagation of new scientific inventions, such as the telegraph, telephone, gramophone, railway, automobile, cinematograph, wireless, aeroplane, submarine, etc.

All these factors affecting the political and social life of Irān found their echo and sublimation in modern poetry. The modern world opened up to the poets a vast academy, as it were, for the discussion of all the problems of private and social life, education, politics, economics, philosophy and religion. Their range of topics is considerably wide and they show a good grasp of the nature of the problems in hand.

Period short but creative.

The modern period of Persian poetry has been short but creative.

In my anthology I have had to give place to no less

than eighty-three poets, representative of the epoch, but this number could easily be increased¹. Among them there are no Firdausis and Sa'dis, but the distinctive feature of most of them is a definite individuality, which will secure to them a sure place in the modern Pantheon.

The herald of the
modern age.

The herald of the new race of Persian poets may be said to be *Adīb-i Pishāwari*. Although he identified himself with Īrān and her people, he never forgot India, the land of his birth. He wrote poems both in Persian and Arabic, all in the old style. *Khāqānī* and *Qā'ānī* in particular are two of the earlier poets whom he imitated in his Persian poems. With regard to the forms of poetry, his *qaṣidas*, *ghazals* and *rubā'is* have nothing new in them. It is in the choice of subjects that he has shown originality. Even a cursory view of the various poems in his *Divān* may suffice to show how world events and the resulting state of affairs shaped his ideas. He has a poem on the Russo-Japanese War, a long diatribe exhorting the Indians to rise, several panegyrics to the ex-Kaiser and a goodly number of miscellaneous productions on the Great European War and the degraded condition of the Muslim world. It was particularly in his poems about Īrān and her people that he extolled patriotism and attachment to the 'motherland.'

¹ See note (*) on p. 33 *infra*.

As is generally the case with a pioneer, the ideas of Adīb are crude and his language rather full of rigid classicism. He was, moreover, but a refugee, his mother-tongue being Pashto. In his Persian and Arabic compositions he could not help taking his stand on some classical authority, and yet he has struck a new note in his sentiments for Irān. When the poets of the land followed suit, they expressed themselves with greater vigour and could address their countrymen more boldly. Adib ushered in a new epoch in the history of Persian poetry, which has produced a great number of poets, the greatest of them being Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Bahār.

Forms and contents of modern poetry. The older poetical forms are still prevalent in modern times, but they often serve for the expression of ideas entirely unknown in older times. The *qasīda* or court poem of the earlier period is almost absent from modern poetry. The *qasīda* survives as a form, but its purpose is no more than flattery of the reigning king or nobles of the court for personal gains. The subject of one of the *qasīdas*¹ of Sālār of Shīrāz is didactic. 'Ārif of Qazvīn has a *qasīda*² indicting his countrymen for accepting stipends from foreign legations. Farrukhī of Yazd has criticized Vuṣūqu'd-Dawla in a *qasīda*³ for his Anglo-Persian Treaty. Similarly the *ghazal*, *maṣnavī*, *qīṭ'a* and *rubā'i* are

¹ Ishaque, *Sukhan*. i, 136-37.

² *Ibid.*, 200-201.

³ *Ibid.*, 316-17.

still the prevalent forms, but these names no more suffice to indicate the nature of the contents. It is the themes and the manner of handling them that now really count.

Classification of Poets

So far as the forms and themes of poems are concerned, the poets of the Age may, as observed elsewhere¹, be conveniently classified under the following heads :—

1. Those writing in the old style and dealing with old themes, e.g., Āzād of Hamadān, Baiżā'i of Kāshān, Dānish of Tīhrān, Rabbānī, Shabāb, Shu'ā', Ibrat, Ghamām, Nāşih, Vuşūq, Hādī, Yaktā and others.
2. Those writing in the old style but dealing with new themes, e.g., Adib-i Pishāwari, Afsar, Amīrī, Bahār, Parvīn-i I'tiṣāmī, Piz̄hmān, Pūr-i Dāvūd, Hikmat, Dānish of Khurāsān, Shahriyār, Ārif and others.
3. Those adopting a new style and dealing with new themes, e.g., Aḥmadī, Sarmad, Şūratgar, Lāhūtī and others.
4. Those trying their poetic skill in the composition of more popular songs (*Taşnīf*), e.g., Aḥmadī, Amīrī, Bahār, Piz̄hmān, Jāhid, Shaydā, Ārif and others.

¹ Ishaque, Sukhan. i. 4-5 (Introduction) : also ii. xx (Introduction).

II

POETS

Poets introduced.

Here we propose to introduce the poets of modern Irān in the chronological order of their birth dates and group them geographically according to their places of birth. The list given below does not claim to be exhaustive, nor are the poets, named in it, all of the same calibre. I do not, however, mean disrespect to any left out of consideration. The criterion of selection of the poets for treatment is their fame and reputation in the literary circle of Irān.

(a) Poets classified chronologically :—

Name and <i>Takhallus</i>	Born A.H.	Died A.H.	Place of birth
1. Sayyid Aḥmad Adīb	...	1260 ¹	Pīshāwar.
2. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Qarīb Rabbānī	...	1262	Garakān.

¹ The exact date of his birth is not known. 'Alī 'Abdu'r-Rasūlī who edited the *Dīvān* of Adīb in A.H. 1352/A.D. 1933 (vide *Muqaddima* to the *Dīvān*, p. 2) and Dinshah J. Irani, (*Poets of the Pahlavī Régime*, p. 5) give his approximate date of birth as A.H. 1260/A.D. 1844-45.

² E. Berthels gives the year of Adīb's death as A.D. 1931 (vide *Encycl. of Islām* iii, 1064), but the actual date of his death was Monday, the 3rd Ṣafar, 1349/30th June, 1930 (when I was in Ṭehrān). Vuṣūqu'd-Dawla wrote an elegy on him which ends with the chronogram :

اَهْ بِيْفَزُودْ وَ گَفْتْ حَيْفْ وَ دَرِيجْ اَزْ اَدِيبْ

i.e., 1349 (vide *Sukhan*. ii, 383).

³ Vahīd-i Dastgardī wrote an elegy on Rabbānī (vide *Sukhan*. ii, 174)

Name and <i>Takhallus</i>		Born A.H.	Died A.H.	Place of birth
3. Rīzā Khān (Prince Atfa') <i>Dīnīsh</i>	...	1267	1356 ¹	Tabrīz.
4. Muḥammad Jawād Shūrīdā	...	1270	1351	Kirmānshāh.
5. Muḥammad Taqī Shūrīdā	...	1274	1345 ²	Shīrāz.
6. Sādiq Khān (Adību'l-Mamālik) Amīrī ...	1277 ³	1336		Kūzārān.

f. n. 1), the last verse of which gives the year of his death:

سر برون کرد ز مینوی فلک جاخط و گفت
آفتاب فلک علم و ادب حست افول

Here 3 for حاخط χ is to be subtracted from the total of the numerical values of all the letters of the second hemistich, i.e., $1348 - 3 = 1345$.

¹ Prince Atfa' died on March 19, 1937/Isfand 28, 1315 (Solar). Nādirī in an elegy on the Prince gives the chronogram of his death as:

سر ز طهوان برون نمود و سرود رفت دانش ز عالم فانی
(vide *Kānūn-i Shū'arā*, p. 7, No. 36-40, vol. iii).

Here the value of *b* in طهوان is to be subtracted from the total value of the letters in the second hemistich h. i.e., $1324 - 9 = 1315$.

² The year of the birth of Shūrīdā, according to the *Fārs-nāma-i Nāsī* by Ḥājī Mīrzā Ḥasan Shīrāzī, is A.H. 1274/ A.D. 1857-58. But according to the chronogram هفت سال و هفت روز contained in the following verse of the poet, he was born in A.H. 1280/ A.D. 1863-64:

گفت کی زایید مامت گفتمش مامر چو زاد
رفته بود از سال هجرت هفت سال و هفت روز

This discrepancy would disappear if the value of the letter و in the chronogram هفت سال و هفت روز is not taken into consideration. The actual date of his death is Thursday, the 6th Rabī' II, 1345. The poet, before his death, wrote his own epitaph, the last hemistich of which, quoted here, gives the year of his death:

شده شوریده بجان جانب منان رحیم

i.e., 1345 (vide *Sukhan*, i, 190).

³ When Amīrī was born, a friend of his father composed the following *nubā'i* in which the words پیغمبر پاک give Amīrī's year of birth as A.H. 1277:

فرخنده نژاد صادق آن اخترپاک دارای نژاد فرخ و گوهر پاک
پیغمبر پاک سال میلادش شد چون هست ز خاندان پیغمبر پاک

Name and <i>Takhallus</i>		Born A.H.	Died A.H.	Place of birth
7. 'Abdu'l-Jawād <i>Adib</i>	...	1281	1344 ¹	Nīshāpūr.
8. Yahyā (Yahyā)	...	1281 ²	1318	Dawlatābād.
9. Ḥusayn Khān Isfandiyārī	...	1283	...	Tīhrān.
10. Muḥammad 'Alī Khān 'Ibrat	...	1285	...	Īsfahān.
11. Sayyid Aṣhrafu'd-Dīn Aṣhraf	...	1288	1350	Rasht.
12. Taqī Khān (Ziyā-Lashkar) Dānish	...	1288	...	Tafrīsh.
13. Haydar 'Alī Kamālī	...	1288	...	Abarqū.
14. Muḥammad Husayn Khān (<i>Shu'ā'u'l-Mulk</i>) Shū'a'	...	1289	...	Shīrāz.
15. 'Abdu'l-Husayn Āyatī	..	1290	...	Taft.
16. Īraj Mīrzā (Jalālu'l-Mamālik) Īraj	...	1291	1344 ³	Tabrīz.
17. Ḥusayn Khān Dānish	...	1292	...	Istānbūl.
18. Muḥammad Yūsuf-zāda Ghāmām	...	1292	...	Najaf.
19. Hasan Khān (Vuṣūqu'd-Dawla) Vuṣūq	...	1292	...	Tīhrān.
20. Husayn Khān Samī'i (Adību's-Salṭāna) 'Atā	...	1293	...	Rasht.
21. Ismā'il Amīr-Khīzī Girāmī	...	1294	...	Tabrīz.
22. Muḥammad Kasmā'i	...	1294	1352	Rasht.
23. 'Abdu'l-'Aẓīm Khān Qarīb	...	1296	...	Garakān.

¹ Ishrāq-i Khāvarī gives the year of his birth as A.H. 1284 (vide *Ārmāghān*, vii, p. 235). According to Rāshīd-i Yāsimī, he died on *Zu'l-qa'da*, 12, 1344 (see *Ādabiyyāt-i Mu'āṣir*, p. 15).

² In A.H. 1330 Yahyā wrote a poem, the opening verse of which reads میرزا سالت فزون گشت هر ز پنجاه, from which his date of birth can roughly be calculated as 1330-50=1280. (For the poem, refer to *Urdī-Bihisht*, p. 6.)

³ Shūrīda wrote an elegy on the death of Īraj Mīrzā, the last hemistich of which contains the chronogram of Īraj's death. The verse runs as

ایرج ما مرد آه از کید این تور فلک

i.e., 1344. (*Sukhan*, i, 186-87)

Name and <i>Takhallus</i>	Born A.H.	Died A.H.	Place of birth
24. Muḥammad Ḥušim Mīrzā Afsar	...	1297 ¹	1360 Sabzavār.
25. 'Alī Akbar Khān Dihkhudā Dakhaw	...	1297	...
26. Muḥammad Husayn Adīb-i Azād Adib...	1298	...	Tabrīz.
27. Hasan Khān Vahid	...	1298	...
28. Muḥammad Husayn Nādnī	...	1299	...
29. 'Alī Muḥammad Baiżā'i	...	1299	1352 ² Ārān.
30. Ahmād Khān Ashtari Yaktā	...	1299	...
31. Abu'l-Qūsim 'Ārif	...	1300	1352 ³ Qazvīn.
32. Ahmād Khān Bahmanyāt Dihqān	...	1301	...
33. Abu'l-Hasan Khān Furūghī	...	1301	...
34. Mu'tazā Khān (Tarjumānu'l-Mamālik) Farhang	...	1301	...
35. 'Alī Muḥammad Khān Azād	...	1302	...
36. Naṣiru'd-Dīn Khān Sālār	...	1302	...
37. Taqī Khān Āq-evlī Binish	...	1303	...
38. Ibrāhīm Khān Pūr-i Dāvūd Pūr ⁴	...	1303	...
39. Muḥammad Taqī (Maliku'sh-Shu'arā) Bahār.	...	1304	...

¹ Rağhib-i Yüsümī gives the date of the birth of Afsar as Muharram 21, 1297 (vide *Adabiyāt-i Mu'āfir*, p. 16).

² The actual date of his death is Tuesday, the 15th Isfand, 1313 (Solar) as given by his son Mīrzā Husayn Khān Baiżā'i in his article on his father (vide *Armashāh*, xvi, 64).

³ Rağhib-i Yüsümī mentions the date of the death of 'Ārif as Bahman, 1312 (Solar) (vide *Adabiyāt-i Mu'āfir*, p. 69). K. Tschajkin (vide *KONPL...* p. 59) and E. Berthels (vide *Enebol of Islām*, iii, 1065) give the date of his birth as A.D. 1879-80, while Dr. Shafiq who has edited the *Dirān* of 'Ārif gives A.H. 1300, i.e., A.D. 1882-83. (vide *Dirān-i 'Ārif*, p. 59, f. n. 1).

⁴ In his early days he used *Lisān* as his *Takhallus* (vide the closing verses of poems No. 2 and 4 on pages 21 and 23 respectively of his *Ferār-Dikht-Nāmeh*).

Name and <i>Takhallus</i>		Born A.H.	Died A.H.	Place of birth
40. <i>Yadu'llāh Khān Māyil</i>	...	1304	...	Tūysirkān,
41. 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khān (<i>Shaykhul-Mulk</i>) <i>Aurang.</i>	1305	Ṭīhrān.
42. Muḥammad 'Alī Khān Bāmdād	...	1305	...	Mashhad.
43. Nizām-i Vafā Nizdm	...	1305	...	Kāshān.
44. Muḥammad Farrukhī	...	1306	1358 ¹	Yazd.
45. Abu'l-Qāsim Lāhūtī	...	1306 ²	...	Kirmānshāh
46. Husayn Khān Masrūr	...	1308	...	Kūpā.
47. Abu'l-Qāsim Khān I'tisām-zāda Niyāzī	1308	Tabrīz.
48. Mūsā (Mu'azzamu's-Saltāna) Dawlat	...	1309	...	Ṭīhrān.
49. Mahdī Khān Malik Ḥijāzī Qulzum	...	1309	...	Yazd.
50. Hādī Khān Hā'irī Hādī	...	1309	...	Ṭīhrān.
51. 'Alī Aṣghar Khān Hikmat	...	1310 ²	...	Shīrāz.
52. Sādiq Khān Rīzā-zāda Shafaq	...	1310	...	Tabrīz.
53. 'Alī Rīzā Ibrāhīmī Dānish	...	1311	...	Kirmān.
54. 'Abdu'llāh Khān Yāsū'i (Yāsā'i)	...	1311	...	Mihrjird.
55. Ghulām Husayn Khān Surūd	...	1312	...	Ṭīhrān.
56. Muḥammad Rīzā 'Ishqī	...	1312	1342 ⁴	Hamadān.

¹ For the manner in which he met his death, see the Introduction (p. ۵۲) to *Farrukhī's Divān* (ed. by Ḥusayn-i Makkī), published at Ṭīhrān in A.H. 1320 (Solar).

² Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Aynī gives the date of his birth as A.H. 1306/A.D. 1887 (vide *Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājīk*, p. 586). Berthels also mentions A.D. 1887 (vide *Encycl. of Islām*, iii, p. 1065).

³ According to *Rashīd-i Yāsimī*, Hikmat was born on Ramazān 23, 1310. (See *Adabiyyāt-i Mu'āṣir*, p. 41).

⁴ In 1930 I visited the tomb of the poet at the cemetery of Ibn Bābawayhi situated on the south of the ruined city of Rayy, and found the following inscription on the tombstone :

در مسالخ عشق جز نکو را نکشند لاغر صفتان زشت خورا نکشند
گر عاشق صادقی ز کشتن مگریز مردار بود هر آنکه او را نکشند
شهادت مرحوم میرزا ده عشقی شنبه آخر ذی قعده الحرام ۱۳۴۲ هجری

Name and <i>Takhallus</i>	Born A.H.	Died A.H.	Place of birth
57. 'Abbās <u>Khān Furāt</u>	... 1312	...	Yazd.
58. Yaḥyā <u>Khān Samī'īyān Raiḥān</u>	... 1313	...	Tehrān.
59. Maḥmūd <u>Khān Afshār</u> , Dr.—	... 1313	...	Yazd.
60. Muḥammad Dāniš <u>Buzurg-niyā Dāniš</u>	1314	...	Mashhad.
61. Ghulām Rizā <u>Khān Rashīd-i Yāsimī</u> (Yāsimī)	... 1314	...	Kirmānshāh
62. Ghulām Rizā <u>Khān Rūhānī</u>	... 1314	...	Tehrān.
63. Sayyid Maḥmūd <u>Khān Jawāhirī Farrukh</u>	1314	...	Mashhad.
64. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān <u>Farāmarzī</u>	... 1315	...	Gachū.
65. 'Alī Buzurg-niyā (Ṣadru't-Tujjār) Ṣadr	1316	...	Mashhad.
66. Muḥammad 'Alī <u>Khān Nāṣīḥ</u>	... 1316	...	Tehrān.
67. Bahā'u'd-Dīn <u>Khān Husām-zāda</u>	... 1317	...	Shiraz.
68. Jalālu'd-Dīn <u>Khān Humā'ī Sanā</u>	... 1317	...	Isfahan.
69. Badī'uz-Zamān <u>Furūzānfar</u>	... 1318 ¹	...	Bushrūya.
70. Ḥusayn <u>Khān Bakhtiyārī Pizhmān</u>	... 1318	...	Tehrān.
71. Sayyid Ḥusayn <u>Shajara Binā</u>	... 1318	...	Isfahan.
72. Luṭf 'Alī <u>Khān Sūratgar</u> , Dr.—	... 1319	...	Shiraz.
73. Naṣtu'llāh <u>Khān Falsafī</u>	... 1319	...	Tehrān.
74. Muḥammad Amīn <u>Adīb</u>	... 1320	...	Mashhad.
75. Ḥabīb <u>Yaghmā'ī Habīb</u>	... 1320	...	Khūr.
76. 'Abdu'l-Ḥusayn <u>Aḥmadī</u>	... 1321	...	Bakhtiyārī land.
77. Muḥammad Ḥusayn <u>Khān Shahriyār</u>	... 1323	...	Tabriz.
78. Sayyid Ṣādiq <u>Khān Sarmad</u>	... 1325 ²	...	Tehrān.

¹ Y. Marr gives the date of his birth as Tuesday, the 28th Rabī' II, 1322/12th July, 1904. See Marr's article (in Russian) *Contemporary means of Transport pictured by Persian poets* published in the *Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes*, dated the 22nd August, 1929, p. 223.

² Dinshah J. Irani, (PPR., p. 326) and *Rashīd-i Yāsimī*, (See *Adabiyāt-i Mu'āṣir*, p. 56) give the date of his birth as A.H. 1289 (Solar) which is equivalent to A.H. 1329/A.D. 1911-12.

Name and Takhallus	Born A.H.	Died A.H.	Place of birth
79. Parvin-i I'tiqāmī Parvin	...	1324	Tehrān.
80. Jahāngīr-i Jalilī (Jalilī)	...	1324	Tehrān.
81. Ghulam'Ali Khān Aṣarakhshī Ra'dī, Dr.—	1323	...	Tabriz.
82. Nuṣratu'llāh Khān Kāsimī Nuṣrat	...	1329	...
83. Faṣl-i Bahūr Khānum (Ibrāhīd-Dawīs)	not known	...	Tehrān.

(b) Poets grouped geographically :—

Place of birth	Number of poets	Numbers from the foregoing table
Tehrān	...	9, 19, 25, 33, 34, 37, 41, 45, 50, 55, 58, 62, 66, 70, 73, 79, 79, 80, 82 and 83.

Khurāsān :

Mashhad	...	7	28, 39, 42, 60, 63, 65 and 74.
Buštūya	...	1	69.
Nishāpūr	...	1	7.
Sabzavār	...	1	24.

Īsfahān :

Īsfahān	...	3	10, 68 and 71.
Abarqū	...	1	13.
Bakhtiyārī land	...	1	76.
Dastgārd	...	1	27.

¹Salar of Shīrāz has given her year of death in the following chronogram:

افسرده طبع سالار از سال دحلتش گفت

دیدی کاز آین جهان شد پروین امتصاصی

Place of birth		Number of poets	Numbers from the foregoing table
Dawlatābād	...	1	8.
Kūpū	...	1	46.
Tabrīz	...	8	3, 16, 21, 26, 47, 52, 77 and 81.
Fārs :			
Shīrāz	...	6	5, 14, 36, 51, 67 and 72.
Gachū	...	1	64.
Yazd :			
Yazd	...	4	44, 49, 57 and 59.
Mihryjird	...	1	54.
'Irāq-i 'Ajām :			
Garakān	...	2	2 and 23.
Kāzārān	...	1	6.
Tafrīsh	...	1	12.
Rasht	...	4	11, 20, 22 and 38.
Kirmānshāh	...	3	4, 45 and 61.
Kirmān :			
Kirmān	...	2	32 and 53.
Taft	...	1	15.
Kāshān :			
Kāshān	...	1	43.
Ārān	...	1	29.
Hamadān	...	2	35 and 56.
Qazvīn	...	1	31.
Jawshāqān	...	1	30.
Tūysirkān	...	1	40.
Khūr	...	1	75.

This shows that the poets who belong to Īrān by virtue of their birth and nationality are eighty in all. Among the remaining three poets, Adīb (No. 1) was a native of Pishāwar, but his warm feelings for Īrān are obvious. Dānish (No. 17), born at Istānbūl, has never been to Īrān, but he is of Iranian parentage and is at present attached to the Iranian Embassy at Ankara. Ghamām (No. 18), though born at Najaf, is a pure Iranian by parentage, nationality, residence and service.

Their characteristics. It is impossible to describe in detail the whole of the output of each single poet, quoted in the first table. Select pieces of poetry, representative of individual style, are to be found in my anthology, and here I shall present only the distinctive characteristics of their individuality. To take them in order :

1. Adīb of Pishāwar who comes first chronologically, is a bilingual poet. Muḥammad Khān Qazvīnī has compared him with Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri (A.D. 973-1057)¹. His verses are full of classicism and obsolete expressions.

2. Rabbānī who like Adīb is a bilingual poet of the Classical school, has written verses that are dull, laboured and old-fashioned.

3. All we can say of Dānish of Tabrīz is that he imitates classical models. His two best known

¹ Muḥammad Khān Qazvīnī, *Bist Maqāla* i, 7, Bombay, 1928.

Maṣnavī poems are ‘Tūl-i ‘Umr’ (“Secrets of Longevity”) and ‘Āvāza-i Bazm-i Ṣulḥ-i la Ḥaye’ (“Echoes of the Peace Conference of the Hague²”). He died at the ripe old age of eighty-seven.

4. Shabāb of Kirmānshāh—a rider, archer and editor—is an expert in the use of choice words and in the employment of rhetoric, often displaying great ingenuity. His poems in the Shakaristān³ show that though old in age, he was young in thought and spirit.

5. Though an adherent of the Classical school, Shūrida has a style of his own. He is remarkable for his excellent diction and ability to play on words. He could well claim to be a descendant of Ahlī of Shīrāz⁴.

6. Amīrī—a prominent journalist—is another bilingual poet whose poetry is commensurate with

² See his *Divān-i Gauhar-i Khāvarī*, pp. 36-56, İstanbūl.

³ This poem, comprising fifty-three verses, has been translated into French, English, German, Russian, Italian, Dutch, Spanish, Swedish, Latin, Greek, Armenian, Japanese, Arabic and Turkish languages. (See *Echos de la Conférence de la Haye*, Constantinople, 1903).

⁴ First edition was published at Kirmānshāh in A.H. 1306 (Solar).

⁵ This celebrated poet flourished chiefly in the reign of Shāh Ismā‘il Ṣafavī. Besides a *Divān* of *qaṣīdas*, *ghazals*, enigmas and other ingenious kinds of versification, he has to his credit two *Masnavis*, *Šham’ u Parwāna* (“The Taper and the Moth”), and *Sīhr-i Halāl* (“Lawful Magic”). His another much admired *qaṣīda* is honoured with a commentary by Mullā Jāmī. He died in A.H. 942, according to the chronogram: بود اهل شعر و پادشاه شعراء.

his learning. He is an unbiassed purist¹ and a pungent satirist, perhaps the greatest after Sūzānī².

7. *Adīb* of *Nīshāpūr*, although handicapped by blindness, is a good bilingual poet. At first he followed *Qā'ānī*, but afterwards adopted the *Turkistān* style. As a blind man, he is naturally inclined to be introspective.

8. *Yahyá* is more an imitator than an original composer. He will be remembered for his attempt to revive the syllabic system in Persian metres, as also for his verse-translation of many a French poem³ into Persian.

9. *Muhtashimu's-Saltana*, many times President of the *Majlis*, is a scanty versifier of *ghazals*. He is better known for his political activities than his poetical productions. He deserves mention also for the fact that he presided over the historic Congress of Orientalists, held on the occasion of *Firdausī* Millenary celebrations at *Tihrān* in A.H. 1355/A.D. 1934.

10. *'Ibrat*, who is a staunch adherent of the Classical school and well known for his mystic trend of mind, is flawless in his rhyme and metre.

¹ Purist in the sense that he writes in pure Persian diction, free from Arabic.

² d. A.H. 569/A.D. 1173-74.

³ e.g., *Christine* by Leconte de Lisle, *Le loup et le jeune mouton* by Fénelon, *La mort des Rois* by Edmond Harancourt, *Le Vase brisé* by Sully Prudhomme, *La jeune Captive* by André de Chénier.

11. Ashraf is prophetic and inspiring; his poems are noted for their genial flow and breathe the air of freedom and progress.

12. Dānish of Ṭihrān who specializes in *qaṣīdas* of the classical style, treats both serious and humorous themes with equal skill. His *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm-i Sūrī*, rich in culinary vocabulary, reminds us of the classical *Buṣhaq-i Atīma*.

13. Kamālī who was apprenticed by his father to a blacksmith, is a self-taught man. As a poet, he has been held in high esteem by his contemporaries'. Though a follower of the school of Fārs and 'Irāq, he does not disdain the Indian style (*Sabk-i Hindī*).

14. Shu'a' is a merited, though pedantic, composer of *qaṣīdas* and *qīṭ'as* on classical models; he is skilled in composing chronograms.

15. Āyatī—a renegade Bahā'i—has no particular claim to eminence except for his introduction of the *Šulāṣī* verse-form and his capacity for writing in pure Persian. His *Kawākibū'd-Durriyya fī Ma'āṣiru'l-Bahā'iyya*² in favour of and *Kashfu'l-*

¹ Amīrī praises him thus:—

ابوالكمال کمالی خدا یگان سخن
به پیکر قلمت جای کوده جان سخن
اگر نه کلک تو طرح سخن در افکندی
بر او قتادی ازین مملکت نشان سخن

(*Dīvān-i Amīrī*, p. 435, Ṭihrān, A.H. 1312 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35).

² This work, comprising two volumes, deals with the origin and propagation of Bahā'īsm and was published in Egypt in 1923.

*Hiyal*¹ against Bahā'īsm are his important works. His fame also rests on the monthly *Namakdān*, edited by him for about five years.

16. Īraj Mīrzā, a prince of the blood, is a great personality amongst modern poets. He has composed singularly simple, fluent and elegant poems in a homely diction. For his ribald and satirical poems his *Dīvān* was proscribed, as also for his free thoughts ; he, like Firdausī, was denied burial in a Muslim cemetery².

17. Dānish of Isfahān is lucid in style, classical in form and romantic in theme. Though his poem on *Zartusht*³ (In praise of Zoroaster) bespeaks his nationalistic feelings, he has never been to Īrān.

¹ *Kashfu'l-Hiyal*, published in three volumes, is a vigorous attack on Bahā'īsm.

² Īraj lies in a grave by the roadside at Shīmrān on the north of Tajrīsh. I found the following poem, written by the poet himself, inscribed on his tombstone :

اे نکویان که در این دنیا ثائید یا ازین بعد بدنیا آئید
 اینکه خفته است در این خاک مذمر ایرحمر ایرج شیرین سخندر
 مدفن عشق جهان است اینجا یک جهان عشق نهان است اینجا
 هر کرا روی خوش و موی نکوست مرده و زنده من عاشق اوست
 من همانم که در ایام حیات بی شما صرف ذکردم اوقات
 بعد چون رخت ز دنیا بستم باز در راه شما بذشستم
 گرچه امروز بخاکم موات است چشم من باز بدنیال شماست
 بنشینید بر این خاک دمی بگذارید بخاکم قدمی
 گاهی از من بسخن یاد کنید در دل خاک دلم شاد کنید

³ *Zartusht-nāma*, İstānbūl in 1918; also *Sukhan*. ii, 121-24.

18. Ghamām writes *ghazals* and other poems, remarkable for their simplicity and spontaneity.

19. Vuṣūq, sometime Premier and responsible for the abortive Anglo-Persian Agreement of 1919, is a follower of the old masters, conspicuous for the dexterity and firmness of his verse. His poems deal with social and philosophical subjects.

20. 'Atā who has held different portfolios in the Cabinet, follows the style of 'Irāq poets. His poem, *Payām-i Kūh*¹ ("The Message of the Mountain") may be reckoned as a masterpiece for its bold imagery, solemn diction and sublime ideas.

21. Girāmī of Tabrīz has adhered largely to the classical models.

22. Muḥammad Kasmā'ī, younger brother of Husayn Kasmā'ī of the Jungle Movement fame², is noted for writing good poems in his native Gīlakī. As a versifier in Persian, he is noted for his advocacy of the cause of women.

23. The critic 'Abdu'l-'Azīm Khān of Garakān is a learned but scanty writer in a patriotic strain. As a veteran educationist, he has devoted his life to the cause of the revival of the Persian language and literature.

¹ PPR., pp. 19-27.

² Husayn Kasmā'ī (A.H. 1288-1339/A.D. 1871-1920) was a spirited nationalist. He returned from Europe to Iran when the 'Jungle Movement' of Mīrzā Kūchik Khān was set on foot. He joined the movement and became editor of its organ, *The Jungle*, which had nine issues only.

Adabī of Tīhrān (founded in A.H. 1339/A.D. 1920-21).

28. Nādirī is prolific but without any outstanding talent. His long *Maṣnavī* poem *Ta'rikh-i Nādir Shāh* will perpetuate the glory of his great ancestor Nādir *Shāh*¹. Of the blood royal as he is, he lives the simple life of an ascetic.

29. Baiżā'i is somewhat dull and monotonous in his pessimism.

30. Yaktā follows the old school but his poems are the handiwork of an Artist, and his use of similes and metaphors is appropriate and generally flawless. Amīrī has praised his poetic talents².

31. 'Ārif, in the words of Īraj, is a more gifted composer of songs than of poems³. His unruly independence of spirit is manifest throughout his writings. He may aptly be described as a patriotic poet of the Constitution. The democratic spirit

¹ The poem was written at the instance of Maliku'sh-Shū'arā Bahj̄r, in the metre used by Khāqānī in his *Tuhfatu'l-Īraqayn*.

² Cf.

چامه من پیش گفتارت بدان ماند که کسی
در سپهر آرد ستاره در بهشت آرد گیا
چون فراوان آزمودم دیدمت با دار و برد
در سخن جادو کنی و ز خامه داری کیمیا
دانش از گفت تو در گوش اندر آرد گوشوار
بینش از کلک تو اندر دیده دارد قوتیا

Amīrī's *Dīvān-i Kāmil*, p. 23, Tīhrān, A.H. 1312 (Solar).

³ Cf.

تو آهوئی مکن جانا گرازی تو شاعر نیستی تصنیف سازی
(*Dīvān-i Īraj* ii, 48, Tīhrān, A.H. 1909 (Solar); *Sukhan*. i. 14, f. n. 3.)

of the age and the reawakened love for freedom have been voiced in his poems. He could not tolerate cant and hypocrisy in any sphere.

32. Dihqān is not prolific. Pan-Islamic and Pan-Asiatic sympathies pervade his poem *Hadiyya-i Sharq*¹ ("A Present from the *Sharq*").

33. Furūghī is of scholarly habits and follows the track of the classical style. His *Shidūsh u Nāhīd*², a tragic drama in verse, based on a legendary tale, shows his merits.

34. Farhang's merit lies mainly in the introduction of alternate rhyming³. Patriotism is the dominant note of his poetry.

35. Āzād is noted for the sweet melody and mystical suggestion of his *ghazals*.

36. Sālār, President of the *Anjuman-i Adabī* of Shīrāz with pro-British sympathies, has only followed the trodden path in his *ghazals*.

37. Bīnish who is above criticism in the art of poetry, has a good fund of humour and capacity for malicious parody of the classics by way of *Tazmīn*.

38. Pūr-i Dāvūd's poems are mostly heroic and romantic stanzas, inspired undoubtedly by the

¹ See *Hadiyya-i Sharq*, published at Mashhad in A.H. 1300 (Solar); also *Sukhan*. ii, 169-71.

² Lithographed at Tīhrān in A.H. 1340.

³ See *Sukhan*. i, 337-40.

national spirit of Firdausī. They are simple and eloquent, exhibiting profound pathos and Zoroastrian tendencies. He is a staunch supporter of the purist movement¹.

39. Bahār—once the most devoted Constitutional and trusted leader of the 'Nationalist Party' of Khurāsān—is the outstanding representative both of the technical perfection and of the philosophic depth of modern poetry, and no less of its sobriety and sanity. The contents of his poems show a nice balance between national sentiment, political thoughts and individual reflections. His association with the literary journals, the *Naw Bahār*, *Tāza Bahār* and *Dāniš Kada*, edited by him in succession, deserves notice.

40. Māyil is a good versifier without much distinction. He successively edited the dailies, *Sitāra-i Irān* and *Shafaq-i Surkh*, both now defunct.

41. If Aurang is a good versifier, he is certainly a better reciter of poems. It would not be surprising if in a poetic contest with his rivals he should assert his excellence².

42. Bāmdād has tried his hand at all kinds of poetry without eminence in any.

¹ Muhammad Khān Qazvīnī, *Bist Maqāla-i Qazvīnī*, i, 16, Bombay, 1928.

² He won the first prize in the competition held on the occasion of Firdausī Millenary in A.H. 1353/A.D. 1934 under the auspices of the Anjuman-i Adabī of Tīhrān.

43. Nizām-i Vafā is old-fashioned and yet one could wish that his art were equal to his ideas.

44. Farrukhī is, perhaps, the best improviser of his age. He is notorious in his country for his communistic leanings.

45. Lāhūtī is ultra-modern in his ideas, communistic in creed and fiery in expression. His communistic views have found strong expression in the poems, *Kiriml*¹ ("The Kremlin") and *Inqilāb-i Surkh*² ("The Red Revolution"). He has successfully attempted new forms of Persian poetry³.

46. Masrūr's poetic fame is on the increase. He is equally able to deal with humorous and serious themes. His poem on the *Tablets*, found at Persepolis, gives a full measure of his talent⁴.

47. Niyāzī makes a greater poet in French than one in Persian. His verse-translation *Les Rubayat*⁵ of 'Omar Khayyām drew the notice of French savants.

¹ Sadru'd-Dīn 'Aynī. *Namūna-i Adabiyāt-i Tājik*, pp. 587-93, Moscow, 1926.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 593-94.

³ *Sukhan*. ii, 311-12

⁴ In course of excavations, carried out at Persepolis under the supervision of the German explorer Herzfeld, two tablets with trilingual inscriptions were discovered in A.H. 1352/A.D. 1933-34. It was ascertained that the inscriptions referred to Darius and the date was fixed at 515 B.C. The Literary Society of Tīhrān declared a reward of twenty Pahlavī guineas for the best poem that would be composed on those tablets. Fifty poets sent in their poems. In the judgement of Āqā-i Hikmat, the then Minister of Public Instruction, and Ḥājj Sayyid Naṣru'llāh Taqavī, the poem of Masrūr was considered to be the best and the reward was given to him.

⁵ Published in Paris in A.D. 1934.

48. Daulat passes as a modest ghazal writer.

49. Qulzum who sings of new themes in the old style, is chiefly known for his *Haftād Mauj*¹ ("Seventy Billows"). It resembles externally the *Istidlāliyya* of the Bahā'ī poet, Mīrzā Na'im of Isfahān².

50. Hādi writes excellent ghazals, rich in philosophical and mystical thoughts and sentiments. His poem *Khizāniyya*³ ("On Autumn"), written in pure Persian and in the vigorous style of Classical writers, shows his merit.

51. Ḥikmat, sometime Minister of Public Instruction, is a skilled composer of didactic *magnāīs*.

52. Dr. Shafaq is rather a prose-writer than a poet. His poems *Bi Yād-i Pidaram*⁴ ("In memory of my Father") and *Bi Yād-i Birādaram*⁵ ("In memory of my Brother") are full of pathos, while his *Zindagī*⁶ ("Life") and *Taṣawwuf*⁷ ("Mysticism") are tinged with Sūfi thoughts.

¹ Published in Berlin, A.H. 1348/A.D. 1929.

² Na'im was a poor man of no education and little known outside the circle of his co-religionists who regard his power of versification as a divine gift. His verses are partly in Persian and partly in Arabic. He was born in A.H. 1272/A.D. 1855-56 and died in A.H. 1328/A.D. 1910-11.

³ *Sukhan*, ii, 411-13.

⁴ *Sukhan*, ii, 244-45; also *Irānshahr*, 4th yr., pp. 10-11.

⁵ *Sukhan*, ii, 242-44; also *Sā'ūdat-i Nūrī*, *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 99-102, Tīhrān, A.H. 1312 (Solar).

⁶ *Sukhan*, ii, 246; also *Irānshahr*, 4th yr., p. 394.

⁷ *Sukhan*, ii, 246; also *Irānshahr*, 2nd yr., pp. 507-8.

53. Dānish of Kirmān is lucid and didactic in his *ghazals*, written on classical models.

54. Yāsā'i has a higher place in politics than in poetry.

55. Though a soldier by profession, Surūd is capable of all manner of skilful versification in the classical style.

56. 'Ishqī may be called the apostle of Young Īrān. His two poems, *Īdiāl-i 'Ishqī*¹ ("The Ideal of 'Ishqī") and *Rastākhīz*² ("Resurrection"), raised him to eminence. Some occasional defects in diction and metre are immaterial, where the theme is lofty and the strain high. He was not only a popular poet but also a composer of songs. He paid with his life for the sincerity of his extreme republican views³. But for his premature death, he would perhaps have been one of the best poets of modern Īrān.

57. Furāt is known for his *qit'as* and *ghazals*. In one of the *ghazals* he has aptly criticized the conventional ornate poetry as being repugnant to modern taste⁴.

¹ *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 46-79, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 22-30.

³ The poet had a sort of prevision of his unnatural death in the following lines:

من آن نیمہ بھرگ طبیعی تھیرم این
یک کاسہ خون بدھست راحت هدر کنم

(See *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 172).

⁴ See *PPR.*, pp. 507-8.

58. Rayhān's poems are thoughtful and appealing, but he forsook his communistic views after one night's confinement in a lunatic asylum. He successfully edited the *Gul-i Zard* for four years.

59. Dr. Mahmūd Khān Afshār, the well-known editor of the *Ājanda*, has written some delightful poems of a sentimental nature. His views on the veiling of women are rather conservative. His Doctorate thesis, *La Politique Européenne en Perse*¹, affords a fair study of the European intrigues in Irān.

60. The poems of Dānish of Khurāsān express liberal and progressive ideas, bearing especially on the education and emancipation of women. That he is an advocate of the latter is evident from his poem entitled *Hadiyya-i Dānish bi Dukhtarān-i Imrūz wa Mādarān-i Fardā* ("A Gift from Dānish to the Daughters of To-day and Mothers of To-morrow").

61. Rāshid-i Yāsimī whose love and appreciation of nature may have been stimulated by his Gurānī blood, is noted for his successful versification of didactic stories and fables from European literature.

62. Rūhānī is unsurpassed in his humour and wit. He has held up to ridicule the fashions and

¹ Published in Berlin, 1921.

² Published at Mashhad in A.H. 1314 (Solar); also *Sukhan*, ii, 135-39.

foibles of modern Iranian society. His topical humorous poems have a universal appeal.

63. Farrukh is a rising poet of Khurāsān whose qaṣīda, *Fath-i Dihlī*¹ ("The Conquest of Delhi"), written on Nādir Shāh's conquest of Delhi, is a notable achievement.

64. Frāmarzī is the editor of the monthly magazine, *Taqaddum*. His poems, mainly ghazals and maṣnavīs, are few but exquisite.

65. Ḫadr in his ghazals and qaṣīdas, cleverly deals with such new themes as *Ghurūr-i Millī*² ("National Pride") and *Kār—Kūshish*³ ("Labour and Effort").

66. The style of Nāṣīḥ's ghazals and qaṣīdas is hackneyed, but his quatrains convey noble ideas. In their flowing smoothness, his poems bear comparison with those of 'Ibrat.

67. The animated songs⁴ of Husām-zāda are popular among the boy scouts of Irān. He is one

¹ This poem was published in the *Āyanda*. The Editor of the *Āyanda* exhorted the poets of Irān to immortalize the conquest of Nādir Shāh, particularly his Conquest of Delhi and the booty carried away by him from that city. It was declared that a prize would be awarded to the poet who would produce the best poem on the subject, composed in accordance with the conditions laid down in the *Āyanda*. In response to this, eminent poets like Bahār, Sūratgar, Nādirī and others sent in their poems which were published in the *Āyanda*. (Vide *Āyanda*, II, pp. 488, 571-74, 758-59, 840-55 and 895-904).

² *Sukhan*, ii, 261.

³ *Ibid.*, pp. 261-62.

⁴ *Sukhan*, i, 77-8; also *PPR.*, 227-31.

of those few poets who have introduced alternate rhyming in Persian poetry¹.

68. Sanā is delightful, though old-fashioned. He chiefly composes ghazals and quatrains.

69. Badi'u'z-Zamān keeps to the *Turkistān* style, but the themes of such poems of his as *Guzārīsh-i Guzrān*² ("The Passing Show") describing the onslaught of the Greeks under Alexander the Great on the Iranians, *Rāh-i Āhan*³ ("The Railway") and *'Irān-i Dīrūz—'Irān-i Fardā*⁴ ("The Irān of Yesterday and the Irān of To-morrow") show that he is romantically-minded and not averse to new ideas and social reforms.

70. The emotional appeal of *Pizhmān-i Bakhti-yārī* is at once deep and personal. His poem *Qabr-i Man*⁵ ("My Tomb") shows that he had a very unhappy life.

71. The fame of Bīnā rests more on prose than on his poetry. He has introduced into poetry a number of new themes such as *Parrāna u Chirāgh-i Barq*⁶ ("The Moth and the Electric Light"), and *Tayyāra u 'Uqāb*⁷ ("The Acroplane and the Eagle").

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 71-3; also PPR., pp. 232-34.

² PPR., pp. 187-94.

³ *Sukhan*. i, 33-34; also PPR., pp. 184-86.

⁴ *Sukhan*. i, 35-37; PPR., pp. 178J-84.

⁵ *Sukhan*. ii, 103.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, 221-22.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 222-23.

72. *Kinār-i Takht-i Jamshīd*¹ (By the side of Persepolis) and *Zīr-i Āsmān-i Bākhtar*² ("Under the Western Sky") are the two best pieces of Dr. Sūratgar and form an antithesis, as the first of them was written in the native style and the other in the modern, after his stay in England, where he studied English poetry.

73. Falsafi's renown rests upon his happy renderings from Victor Hugo and Lamartine. He is still a young aspirant for poetic fame.

74. Adīb of Tūs is a composer of *ghazals* and *qasīdas* with didactic themes such as *Parda-i Sīnimā*³ ("The Cinema Screen") and *Īdiāl-i Kūdakī*⁴ ("The Ideal of Childhood").

75. Habīb-i Yaghmāī has produced only a few poems, but they are of sterling worth and marked by his individuality.

76. Ahmādī Bakhtiyārī has used with success alternate rhyming which betrays a strong Western influence⁵.

77. Shahriyār has the keen insight of a poet. His poetic compositions are characterized by flowing rhythm, well-chosen diction and the choicest

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, pp. 264-65; also the weekly *Naw Bahār*, p. 474, No. 27 of A.H. 1341.

² *Sukhan*. ii, pp. 265-70; also the monthly *Mihr* Nos. 9-11 of the 2nd year.

³ *Sukhan*. ii, 27-28.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 29-30.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 15-19.

expressions. His poems *Rūh-i Parvāna*¹ ("The Soul of Parvāna²"), *Ay Zan*³ ("O Woman!") and *Dukht-i Dāryūsh*⁴ ("The Daughter of Darius") are full of feeling and pathos.

78. Sarmad, a young poet of great promise, has led the revolt against the conservative and conventional poetry of Persia. He is the best interpreter of the new spirit of the age. He composes all kinds of poetry and sometimes vies in style with Īraj Mīrzā. *Banafsha*⁵ ("The Violet"), *Āīna-i Falak*⁶ ("The Mirror of Firmament") and *Sukhan*⁷ ("Poetry") are some of his remarkable pieces.

79. Parvin-i I'tisāmī is a learned, thoughtful and successful poetess, whose poem *Safar-i Ashk*⁸ ("The Journey of Tears") is alone sufficient, in the estimate of Bahār⁹, to entitle her to a high place among the poets.

80. Jalīlī is better known for his prose style than for his verse.

¹ *Sukhan*, ii, 248-50.

² Parvāna was an amiable singing girl, gifted with a charming and melodious voice. She was well-versed in music. She died of consumption in A.H. 1347/A.D. 1928. Pīz̄hmān has given the date of her death in the following chthonogram:

روای پیروانه سوخت

Alas! Parvāna (The Moth) is burnt.

³ *Dirān-i Shahriyār*, p. 28, Tīhrān, A.H. 1310 (Solar); also *Sukhan*, ii, 254.

⁴ *Sukhan*, ii, 256-57.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 198-200.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94; also *Dirān-i Parvin*, p. 133, Tīhrān, A.H. 1354.

⁷ *Dirān-i Parvin*, (Bahār's Foreword, p. 3), Tīhrān, A.H. 1354.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 195-97.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 206

81. Ra'dī Āzarakhshī is a promising young poet, capable of expressing good thoughts in a simple language.

82. Nuṣrat who belongs to the younger generation, is also a poet of great capacity.

*83. The poetess Jannat who writes her ghazals in imitation of old masters, is a princess of the blood¹. In painting, she is a pupil of the famous Kamālu'l-Mulk². She has been put last in the list as the date of her birth is not known.

This is but a very brief survey of the individual

*To the above list one might be tempted to add these names: Abu'l-Hasan Khān Jalva (A.H. 1238-1314/A.D. 1822-96), Muḥammad Bāqir Mīrzā Khusravī (A.H. 1266-1338/A.D. 1850-1919), Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī (A.H. 1270-1314/A.D. 1853-96), Mīrzā Naṣīru'd-Dīn Furṣat (A.H. 1271-1339/A.D. 1854-1920), Abū Naṣr Fathullāh Khān Shaybānī (d. A.H. 1308/A.D. 1890-91). Shaykhū'r-Rā'is Abu'l-Hasan Khān Mīrzā-yi Qājār Hayrat and Mīrzā Habib-i Isfahānī. Jalva and Shaybānī predeceased the Revolution. Khusravī, Furṣat and Hayrat belong rather to the old order. Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī and Habib-i Isfahānī are better known for their bold and powerful writings in prose. Besides them, there are some promising poets who have found mention in different memoirs like Muntakhabāt-i Āṣar by Muḥammad Ziyā Hashtrūdī, Poets of the Pahlavi Régime by D. J. Irani, Adabiyyāt-i Mu'āṣir by Rashīd-i Yāsimī and Gulhā-yi Adab by Ḥusayn Khān Sa'ādat-i Nūrī.

¹ She is the daughter of Prince Sultān Ḥusayn Mīrzā Nayyaru'd-Dawla, a grandson of Fath 'Alī Shāh. Her mother was the daughter of Hajj Farhād Mīrzā Mu'tamidu'd-Dawla, son of 'Abbās Mīrzā, the Crown-Prince, the eldest and favourite son of Fath 'Alī Shāh.

² Muḥammad Khān Ghaffārī, entitled Kamālu'l-Mulk (b. A.H. 1264/A.D. 1847-48) is a famous painter. His paintings sell at fabulous prices in European countries and decorate the walls of the Shāh's Palace and the Majlis. He became the Principal of the Arts College (Madrasa-i Ṣanā'i'-i Mustaqrīfa) when it was founded in A.H. 1329/A.D. 1911 and retired in A.H. 1346/A.D. 1927.

characteristics of the poets and poetesses of Young Irān. They all are the children of the same soil and belong to the same epoch. They may differ in the degree of their acceptance of the new principles of life and progress, but hardly any one of them could be mistaken for a representative of a previous epoch.

III

LANGUAGE

Change in language. Among the changes which Persian poetry has undergone in recent years, one of the most important concerns the language in which the poems are written. The change has, however, taken place in the nature of words chosen to express the ideas of the poets. In former times, the poets of *Irān* wrote in a language highly saturated with Arabic elements and almost entirely divorced from the spoken language, while words which had their origin in countries further afield than *Irān*'s immediate neighbourhood were rare. To-day the situation has changed under the influence of two movements. The first is a Purist movement, the sole aim of which is to eliminate Arabic elements traditionally connected with the former classical and theological learning. Paradoxically enough, the second movement runs counter to the first in that it readily borrows words from Western languages in order to make good the deficiency caused by the ban on Arabic terms, or to express new ideas and describe new facts for which no equivalents are available as yet in Persian vocabulary. But there is yet a third movement, namely, that of bringing the poetical language nearer to the

spoken idiom, and so of democratizing it and rendering it more intelligible to a far greater number of people. We shall deal with these three factors, one by one.

a) PURIST MOVEMENT

Influx of Arabic words and expressions

Since the Arab conquest of *Irān* (A.D. 641-51) the Iranian civilization underwent a radical change due

to Islamic influence in both religious and secular matters. It was in the process of adaptation to the new conditions that the influx of Arabic words and expressions into Persian took place. Numerous words for which there had been no satisfactory Persian equivalents were borrowed¹. The Iranian scholars of Arabic created the fashion of incorporating a large number of Arabic words and expressions into their language. Gradually a new Persian diction, highly saturated with Arabic elements, came into existence.

Beginning of the Purist movement.

Although the vanquished Iranians accustomed themselves to their new conditions, their national spirit and antipathy towards the Arabs remained unchanged. Not before the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era did *Irān* take advantage of the disintegration of the power of the Caliphate to emancipate herself from the control of the Abbasids and to reassert her political independence. Their nationalist zeal made

¹For the influx of Arabic words into Persian refer to *Thā'libī's Fiqhu'l-Lughat*, Paris, 1861, pp. 162-64 or Beirut, 1885, pp. 314-16.

possible the rise of the Purist movement, directed to ridding the language of all Arabic elements.

Purism in epic poems. It is impossible to fix a definite date for the beginning of this movement.

The first poetical work which has survived in its entirety is the *Shāhnāma*; it shows that Daqīqī¹ and Firdausī² attempting to write in purely Persian dictation, have used Arabic words as sparingly as possible. About the middle of the eleventh century several other Iranian epics, commemorating the deeds of Garshāsp³, Burzū⁴ and Shahriyār⁵, were produced in close imitation of the *Shāhnāma*. While writing these epics in pure Persian, the poets combined nationalism in theme with nationalism in language.

¹ According to Nöldeke, 'Daqīqī seems to use Arabic words even more sparingly than Firdausī'. (*Vide* the English translation of Nöldeke's *Das Iranische Nationalepos* by L. Bogdanov, pp. 36-37, Bombay, 1930).

² Browne says that the usual proportion of Arabic words to Persian words used in the *Shāhnāma* is 4 or 5 per cent (*Vide* Browne's LHP., ii, 146, Cambridge, 1928).

³ The *Garshāsp-nāma* by 'Alī b. Abū Naṣr Aḥmad Asadī was written about A.H. 456-58/A.D. 1064-66. Some of the passages are given by Macan in the appendix to the *Shāhnāma*, pp. 2099-2129. A large portion of the *Garshāsp-nāma* has found place in the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā* (i, 110-39) of Rizā-qulī Khān Lalabāshī, poetically surnamed *Hidāyat*. C. Huart edited a part of the poem (2543 verses) with a French translation published by *L'Ecole des Langues Orientales* in 1926 under the title *Le Livre de Gerchāsp d'Asadī Junior de Tous*. In the same year Rāshīd-i Yāsimī published a selection from the poem under the title *Andarz-nāma-i Asadī*. Ḥabīb-i Yaghmā'i edited the whole poem which was published in a handy volume in A.H. 1317 (Solar)/A.D. 1938-39.

⁴ The *Burzū-nāma* was written about the middle of the eleventh century and much of it has been reproduced by Macan. Kosengarten also published a part of the poem in the 5th volume of *Fundgruben des Orients* which Vullers later reproduced in his *Chrestomathia Shāhnāmeiana*.

⁵ The *Shahriyār-nāma* was composed in the time of Mas'ūd II of Ghazna (A.D. 1048).

Preservation of
Persian words

Another manifestation of Purism is found in the lexicons compiled by different writers. Asadī, the younger, who wrote the *Lughat-i Furs*¹, is the earliest known author in this category. In A.H. 757 (A.D. 1356) Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Fakhri of Isfahān compiled a pure Persian lexicon, which forms the fourth part of the *Mi'yār-i Jamālī*². Another lexicon of this kind, the *Majma'u'l Furs*, better known as *Farhang-i Sarvarī*, was compiled by Hājj Muḥammad Qāsim of Kāshān, poetically surnamed *Sarvarī*, during the reign of Shāh 'Abbās I (A.D. 1587-1629)³.

Purism in historical
works

Occasionally attempts at Purism may even be discovered in some historical works like the *Ta'rīkh-i Jahāngushā-yi Jūraynī*⁴ (completed about A.D. 1260) and the *Tazjīyatul-Amṣār va Tazjīyatul-A'sār*, better known as *Ta'rīkh-i Vassāf*⁵ (completed and presented to Uljāytū in A.D. 1312). One may mention here a paragraph in the anonymous work *Naurūz-nāma*⁶

¹ The exact date of its compilation is not known. It was edited by Paul Horn and published in 1897, Berlin.

² Edited by Carolus Salemann under the title *Shams-i Fakhri Lexicon Persicum*, 1887, Kazan.

³ The movement seems also to have influenced the Iranian *sarants* in the Mogul court of India. Jamālu'd-Dīn Husayn Injū b. Fakhru'd-Dīn Ḥāsan of Shīrāz compiled a dictionary of purely Persian words with many poetical quotations. The work was commenced under Akbar and finished in A.H. 1017/A.D. 1608 under Jahāngīr after whom it has been named. It was lithographed at Lucknow in A.H. 1293/A.D. 1876-7.

⁴ See Introduction to Vol. III.

⁵ Vide pp. 106-7. Bombay edition of A.H. 1269/A.D. 1852-3.

⁶ Mr. M. Minovi who edited this work (published, Tīhrān, 1933¹, attri-

which, but for two Arabic words مَوْعِدٌ and هَمَّتْ, has also been written in pure Persian¹.

Purist movement
during the Qājār.
Period.

Even during the Qājār Period,
Purist tendencies were manifest.

Purism, as a *tour de force*, found its way into epistolary writing. The satirist poet Yaghmā² of Jandaq chose at times to write his letters in Persian, free from Arabic. The court tutor Rizā-qulī Khān Hidāyat³ also made a valuable contribution in this direction by compiling a pure Persian lexicon *Farhang-i Anjuman-ārā-yi Nāshīrī*⁴. The founder of Bahā'ism, Bahā'u'llāh⁵, wrote some *Alwāh* ("Epistles") addressed to Zoroastrians, without the admixture of Arabic. Two princes of the blood royal, Jalāl Mīrzā, son of Fath 'Alī Shāh (A.D. 1797-1834), and Ḥājj Abu'l-Ḥasan Mīrzā, commonly known as Shaykhu'r-Ra'is, made similar contributions, the first by writing his *Nāma-i Khusravān*⁶ ("Book of Princes"), and the second by

butes to 'Umar Khayyām the authorship of this treatise written not long after the death of the great Seljuq Malikshāh (A.H. 465-85/A.D. 1072-92). But F. Gabrieli strongly refutes this view. See Gabrieli's article *Il Nawruz-Nāmeh-e 'Omar Hayyām*, published in the *Annali de R. Institute Superiore Orientale de Napoli*, vol. viii, June, 1936. Prof. V. Minorsky holds the same view as Gabrieli (*Encycl. of Islām*, vol. iii, pp. 986).

¹ *Naurūz-nāma*, pp. 18-19.

² Born about A.D. 1782 and died in A.D. 1859.

³ Born A.H. 1215/A.D. 1800-1, died A.H. 1288/A.D. 1871-2.

⁴ Lithographed at Tīhrān in A.H. 1288/A.D. 1871-2.

⁵ Died in A.D. 1892.

⁶ It is a history of the pre-Islamic dynasties of Irān, first published at Vienna in 1880 and reviewed by Mordtmann in the *ZDMG.*, vol. xxviii, pp. 506-8.

composing poetry in similar language. Even in India during the years 1883-86. Mīrzā Nāṣru'llāh Khān Fidā'i entitled Nawwāb Daulat-Yār-Jang Bahādur wrote in pure Persian the *Dāstān-i Turk-tāzān-i Hind*, a history of the Muslim rulers of India¹. The two latest works to be mentioned in this connection are the *Parraz-i Nigārish-i Pārsi*, an epistolary manual, and the *Alif-bā-yi Bihruzī* on the reform of the Persian alphabet, by Mīrzā Rizā Khān Bakishlū² of Qazvīn, Chargé d'Affaires of the Iranian Embassy at Constantinople.

Purist movement in
modern times

In modern times the Purist movement has become more militant and systematic. The poets and writers, influenced by the Western spirit of nationalism, have become strongly prejudiced against what they regard as the adulteration of Persian with Arabic words and expressions. Except for a few orthodox adherents of the classical style like Amīrī, Qarīb and Hādī, all the supporters of Purism, whether moderate or extremist, consider this movement to be of national importance³. It is worth noting here that during the period under review the Purist movement affected journalistic and dramatic writings for the first time.

¹ C. A. Storey, Persian Literature, Section II, Fasc. 3, pp. 490-1. London, 1939.

² Bakishlū is a subdivision of the Afshār tribe.

³ Nationalist feeling is evident from the following verse of Āyatī:

بیا که پاک الغبای میر ایران را
زعین قاف و ط و ظ و صاد و خداد کنیم

In 1916 Abu'l-Qāsim Khān Āzād of Marāgha started a bi-weekly magazine *Nāma-i Pārsī*¹ in pure Persian. Ephemeral as it was, it attracted several enthusiastic supporters. Āzād was followed by Āyatī who in 1929 began the publication of a monthly magazine *Namakdān* ("Salt-Cellar"), in which articles and poems in pure Persian regularly appeared under the heading *Fārsī-yi Sara*. Its publication was discontinued in 1935².

Zabīh-i Bihrūz³ who was formerly attached to the University of Cambridge, considerably widened the scope of the movement by writing his drama "*Shāh-i Irān va Bānū-yi Arman*", an exquisite historical love story. Ahmad Kisravī, though an Āzarbāyjān Turk, is another serious writer who has become interested in the movement. Through his articles, he has attracted to himself a faithful disciple in Hidāyatullāh Ḥakīm-i Ilāhī Faraydanī who has recently published a booklet in 'unadulterated'

Also Mīrzā Ahmad Khān Nāṣiru'd-Dawla, poetically surnamed *Badr*, shares the same view :

چند از دیگر وامر کنی جامد و دستار
رو جامد و دستار پدر را تو بدست آر

¹ No. 7 of this magazine dated the 18th *Zi-qā'da*, 1334, which I possess, has the following significant motto on the front page:

"نگهبان کشور زبان کشور است"

² Notice may be taken of the serial article in pure Persian by Āqā-yi 'Alī Asghar Khān, *Hikmat*, sometime Minister of Public Instruction, published in the official organ of the Ministry *Āmūzish u Parvarish*, Nos. 3-4, 7-8 and 9-10 of A.H. 1920 (Solar)/A.D. 1941-42.

³ He also translated from Arabic into pure Persian a portion of the *Ādabu'l-Kabīr* of Ibnu'l-Muqaffa', published under the title *Ā'in-i Buzurgī*.

The following lines of *Āmīrī* in praise of the Prophet are not lacking in felicitous expression :

یگانه رادی کش کردگار بیهمتا
 گزیده است به پیغمبری و وخشودی
 ز تنگبار خداني به تیمسار حرد
 رسید نامه که از وی گرفت دستوری
 ز دار و بود سپاهش سپهر بود از یاد
 شکوه چتر کیانی و تخت شاپوری^۱

Singularly munificent (was he) whom the Incomparable Omnipotent chose for the prophetical office and apostolate ;

From the Inaccessible Court of the Almighty to the Lordly Genius came the Book whence he derived the Law ;

Seeing the might of his army, the heavens forgot the grandeur of the Kayānian canopy and Shāpūr's throne.

Of Āyatī's poems published in the *Namakdān*² the following short variation on the subject, dear to Persian poets, may be quoted as a specimen :

زیان هر جا همانجا سود خیزد ز هر جا آتش آید دود خیزد
 درخت امروز آیستن شد از باد بفردا هم شود از باد نا زاد
 چو با غ آباد شد از آب باران ز باران هم شود آن با غ ویران
 جهان چون گر به ماند بی کم و بیش که زاید پس خورد خود بچه خویش

¹ *Dirān-i Amīrī*, p. 509.

² *Namakdān*, p. 42. Shahrīvar, A.H. 1308 (Solar.)

Where there is loss there is profit, where there is
fire there is smoke;
The gale that makes the tree bear fruit to-day;
that very gale may destroy it to-morrow;
As rain makes the garden fresh and green, so rain
alone may render it desolate;
The world is like a tom-cat that begets and then
devours his own kittens.

'Abdu'l 'Azim Khīn of Garakīn says in praise of
God:

بنام خدا داورِ دادِ باک پدید آور آدم از آب و خاک^۱

In the name of God, the Administrator of impartial
justice, the Creator of Adam from water and dust.

Mirzā Hādī Khān Hā'īrī has shown great ability
in this class of composition. His *qaṣīda* on autumn
entitled *Khizāniyya*, written in the style of Qā'ānī,
is full of graceful rhythm owing to its cæsuras.
Its opening verse (*maṭla'*) reads:

باز شد پدید، در جهان خزان، شد تهی ز برگ، شاخ گلستان
نوشگفتہ کل، از میان باغ، پشت پرده رفت، کرد دخ نهان^۲

The autumn has again appeared on earth, the
branches in the rose-garden have become leafless;
The rose, new-blown in the middle of the garden,
has gone behind the curtain and hid its face.

Pūr-i Dāvūd has many poems, written in Persian,
devoid of Arabic³. In his poems, *Amshāspandān*,
written on June 20, 1920 in Berlin, he deplores the

¹ For the whole poem vide *Sukhan*, i, 222.

² *Sukhan*, ii, 411-13.

³ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh*, poems Nos. 1, 35, 38, 39, 40 and 42, Bombay,
1928.

wretched condition of Irān and her people thus:

درینا که گلزارِ ما خار شد چراغ فروزانِ ما تار شد
 بسی دود کشتم ز آن دوزگار فراموش شد پند آموزگار
 با اوان ز بس کین و بیداد رفت جوانمردی و نیکی از یاد رفت
 نمانده جوی نام و ننگی بجای همه پست و تن بور و سست بای^۱

Ah! our rose-garden has become (a bush of) thorns,
 our bright lamp has become dim;

Fallen far have we from those days, forgotten are
 the teachings of the Preceptor;

So intense has been the enmity and injustice in Iran,
 that manliness and virtue are forgotten;

Not a grain of our honour and fame remains intact,
 all have become mean, selfish and languid.

In conclusion it may be remarked that the spirit of nationalism has greatly assisted the popularity of this movement. Besides skilful and scholarly poets, many mediocre psoet and writers, in pursuit of Purism, stuffed their compositions with many unfamiliar words. The Iranian Government realising the consequences of such chaos, have set up an official institution under the name *Farhangistān* (which is intended to be a translation of the European term 'Academy'), for the compilation of a standard lexicon of Persian. Booklets containing words approved by this Academy are published every year².

¹ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh*, p. 73.

² The latest issue (No. 7) comprises some 1,200 words and technical terms, coined, discussed and approved by the *Farhangistān* till the end of A.H. 1319 (Solar)/A.D. 1941.

b) EUROPEAN LOAN-WORDS

Influx of European words and phrases

A striking feature of the Modern Persian language is that a great many European words and expressions, especially French, have crept into it. They are used not only in conversation, but also in the written language—in both prose and poetry. This influx is not, however, due to the lack of resources of Persian vocabulary, which can still supply a sufficient fund of words to enable the Iranian poets and writers to express adequately their thoughts and ideas. Persian is, no doubt, lacking in new technical terms for the different branches of science; lacking as well in new expressions for abstract ideas which the needs and progress of time have called into being. The invention of new words and their affiliation are a slow and difficult process. The Persian writers avoided this course, as they found it easier to use European words when there was no Persian equivalent already in existence.

Channels of influence of different languages.

The European languages that have perceptibly affected Persian are Russian, English and French. The influence of the first two is insignificant, but that of French extensive. The channels through which the influx of European words has taken place are :

(i) A few Russian words came in owing to Russia's proximity to and commercial relations with Iran through the latter's north and north-western

frontier provinces, namely, Gilān and Āz̄arbāyjān. The Muslim subjects of Russia who came from the Caucasus and Bākū as traders or drivers of horses brought with them words like *iskinās*¹, *girrānka*², *pūt*, *varshav*³, *istikān*, *sūkhārī*, *samāvar*, *mushtuk*⁴, *kāliska*, *drushka*, *qunūt*, etc. Writers in Persian who lived in Russian territories like Mīrzā Fath̄ ‘Alī Ākhūndoff, Hājj Mīrzā ‘Abdu’r-Rahīm Tāliboff and Ja’far-i Khāmana’ī are also responsible for the introduction of Russian words into Persian. Tāliboff called X-rays *Iks-lūchhā*, where the word *lūch* is Russian and means ‘ray.’

(ii) English words penetrated into Persian during the period of British influence over southern parts of Irān, such as Fārs, *Khūzistān*, Kirmān and Īsfahān. Among English words that came into vogue in Persian are *Ardalī* (Orderly), *Vāgūn* (Wagon), *Būy-Iskā’ut* (Boy Scout), *Fūtbāl* (Football), *Gūl* (Goal), *Lāt* (Lot), *Bā’ikūt* (Boycott), *Kūp* (Cup), *Panchar* (Puncture), etc.

(iii) French words began to infiltrate into Persian in the middle of the nineteenth century when Persian travellers began to visit the capital of the Second Empire. The introduction of French into the syllabus of the higher and middle schools, and the activity

¹ From *assignatsia*, i.e., bank-note. In Russian the word died out in the sixties of the nineteenth century.

² This must be a pretty old loan-word, for in modern Russian it has a different meaning (“10 copecks”) and not (“a pound”).

³ From Russian *Varshava*, a white-metal plate from Warsaw.

⁴ From Russian *Munshtuk* (from Ger. *Mundstück*, a mouthpiece), a cigarette-holder.

of the French teachers invited to teach European sciences at the *Dāru'l-Funūn*¹ in Tīhrān, are further responsible for the popularity of French words. After the Great War thousands of young Iranians were trained in France in various branches of Science and Art. French has become the second language with the cultured class. This infiltration of French words into Persian is still in progress². French words and expressions used in Persian will be found at the end of the chapter³. As for the manner of their infiltration :—

(a) Some were borrowed because the ideas to which they referred were unknown in Irān; e.g., پارلائون، کایسین، کیتنه، کسیون، پارتنی، آکادمی، فاکولته.

Compare the word بارلان, used by *Ashraf* of Gilān in the following line :

بهرستان پر از مشک تدار است فضای بارلان هم عطر بار است

Also the words کایسنه and پارتنی used by 'Ishqī in the verse :

بے اعتنا بهیئت کایسنه فلك

گردیده ام که پارتنی ام یك ستاره نیست

(b) Some came in along with new things; e.g., سینما، تمر، آیروپلان، ماشین، گرامافون، تلفون، تلگراف، فکل.

¹ This Polytechnic College was founded during the reign of Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh Qājār in 1851.

² A Persian-French dictionary in verse (*Dictionnaire poétique de la langue Persane-Française*) was written by Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Husayn Khān Mu'allifu'd-Dawla and lithographed at Tīhrān in A.H. 1320/A.D. 1902-3. This work which consists of 261 pages was dedicated to Dūst 'Alī Khān I'tishāmu's-Saltāna.

³ See pp. 52 et seqq. *infra*.

Compare the use of the word **فُكْل** by Bīnīsh:

با چنین گردن بود تنگم فکلهای فراغ
کهکشان بندم مگر جای فکل بر گردم

Also Adīb-i Tūsī's use of the word **سَنِيَا** in the following line:

یک بدر آید دگری در شود ز چشم
زانکه جهان پرده اسرار سنیا سست

(c) Some bear traces of visits paid to Europe by the aristocracy and the merchants, e.g.,

کلوپ، ترن، فابریک، هتل، کافه، ستران، تیاتر.

Īraj uses **کلوپ** and **هتل** in the following line:

در کلوپها نتوان کرد همه وقت نشاط
در هتلها نتوان برد همه عمر بسر

Compare also the use of the word **فابریک** by Yāsā'i in:

تاریک شد ابن فضا بدو د فابریک آباد شد این معادن شدادی

(d) Many came into the language on account of laziness and snobbishness on the part of poets and writers, such as, کلاس، لوکس، شیک، مرسی، پروگرام، پارازیت، شارلاتان.

Compare Habīb-i Yaghmā'i's use of the word **پارازیت** in the verse:

هر که پارازیت و تنبیل میشود بایست کشت
آری از تن خون فاسد را برون بایست کرد

Or the use of the word شارلآن by Iraj in :

تماماً معدہ باز و شارلآنند یعنی جا هر چه باش افتاد آنند

(e) Words and expressions intentionally used as a caricature of (c) or on account of their 'exotic' character or through affectation, such as مسبو، دانس، داندو، کراوات، شیک، بالاسکه، نکل، بونسوار etc.

For instance, the pun on the French word 'Madame' in the following verse by Shaykhur-Ra'is is charming:

ما دام تو گشته یعنی ما دام دل در پی دام نست ما دام

Another short humorous poem by Shaykhur-Ra'is *Hayrat* in which French words have been introduced in an elegant manner, is :

د بشب صنمی تازه رنسی شهروہ پاریس
عشق کهن مارا از سهر نوی داد
با مجلسیان گفت که سرویتُر من کیست
اول دل من پاسخ او را تسوی داد
چون دید که اشکم دود از دیده چو باران
از زاف بدستِ من پاراپلوی داد¹

In this poem, the words سرویتُر and پاراپلوی are the French *serviteur* (servant), *je suis* (I am) and *parapluie* (umbrella). A free rendering of the verses into English is given below :

¹ Husayn Pizhmān, *Bihārīn-i Ash'ar*, p. 116, Tīhrān, A.H. 1313 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35.

Last night a charming girl, well known in Paris, with
blooming cheeks renewed our old love;

Addressing the people in the assembly, she asked,
"Who is my servant?" First my heart responded
to her, "It is I!"

When she saw that tears poured forth from my eyes
like rain, she lent me her tresses to serve as an
umbrella.

Also the following charming lines by Dānish, of
Tīhrān may be quoted :

برفته است سودی دو ماهی فرانس

ز صنعت نیام و خته غیر دانس

زبانی نداند مگر گوید او

گُان تال وُو و گُان پُرت وُو^۱

Sūrī has been to France for two months (and) has
learnt no other art but dancing,

He knows not the language but speaks (only), "Comment
allez vous" and "Comment portez vous."

گُان پُرت وُو and گُان تال وُو, دانس

stand for *danse* (dance), *comment allez vous* (how
are you?) and *comment portez vous* (how do you
do?)

In the following verse Ashraf uses the word
نکل as a caricature of his Westernized country-
men:

فقط عینک است و نکل مایه من فرنگی مام فرنگی مام

¹ Dānish-i Tīhrānī, *Dīvān-i Hakīm-i Sūrī*, p. 169, Tīhrān, A.H. 1317
(Solar)/A.D. 1938-39.

My eye glasses and false collar are my only assets, I'm
the lover of European manners.

It may not be out of place to mention here that Mīrzā Āqā Khān Kirmānī in his *Kitāb-i Rizwān*¹, a collection of stories in prose, interspersed with poetry in the style and imitation of the *Gulistān*, has a story in which the French words have been used freely². Īraj Mīrzā also has shown his skill in a poem of this kind : its nine verses contain twenty well-chosen French words comfortably accommodated in it³.

Poets who helped
the influx

Names of the poets who have
made use of European words and
expressions may be enumerated in Persian alphabetical
order as follows :—

Abu'l-Hasan Mīrzā Shaykhu'r-Ra'is, poetically surnamed Hayrat, Akhgar, Adib-i Tūsī, Ashraf, Amīrī, Īraj, Bahār, Binish, Habib, Dānish-i Khurāsānī, Dihkhudā, Dihqān, Rūhānī, Spentā, Sarmad, 'Arif, Ishqī, Atā, Farrukh, Farrukhī, Qulzum, Kasmā'i, Lāhūtī, Māyil, Majdī, Masrūr, Munīr, Nādirī, Nishāt, Vahid, Hādi, Yāsā'i and Yaktā, among whom Ashraf, Īraj, Hayrat, Rūhānī, Ishqī, Bahār and 'Arif may be mentioned in order of merit to claim special attention. There are besides several others who make use of European words in their

¹ Vide Catalogue of Oriental MSS belonging to Browne, p. 283.
No. x, II (9), Cambridge, 1932.

² Pp. 59-60 of the MS

³ Sukhan. i. 30.

2. *Administrative*

Bureau	بودو
Carton	کارتن
Dossier	دوسیه
Note	نُت
Punaise	پونز
Pince	پنس
Numéro	نمره
Paraphe	پاراف
Chemise	شیز
Agent	آژان
Personnel	پرسنل
Police	پلیس
Courier	کوریر
Juriste	ژودیست
Gendarme	ژاندارم

3. *Military*

Bombardement	بمباردمان
Bombe	بمب
Front	فرونت
Général	ژنرال

Chauffeur	شوفر
Tank (E)	تازک
Hélice	هیلیس
Wagon (E)	واگون
Télégraphe	تلگراف
Droshki (R)	درشکه
Kaliaska (R)	کالسکه
Vorshava (R)	ورشو

5. Educational

Université	اوینیو رسیده
Faculté	فاکولته
Diplôme	دبلم
Licencié	لیسانس
Gymnastique	جیمانستیک
Conférence	کنفرانس
Classe	کلاس
Programme	پروگرام
Académie	آکادمی

6. Economical

Lira (I)	لیره
Million	میلیون

Famille	فامیل
Parasite	پارازیت
Luxe	لوکس
Terreur	تُور
Salon	سالون
Pose	پُز
Rendezvous	داندوو
Idéal	ایدهه آل
Ball	بال
Bal Masqué	بالماسکه
Club	کلوب
Boulevard	بلوار
Hotel	هتل
Pique-nique	پکنیک
Bonjour	بونژور
Bonsoir	بونسوار
Monsieur	موسیو
Merci	مرسی
Fanatique	فناٽیک
Douche	دوش

Modern Persian Poetry

Mode	مُد
Jeune fille moderne	ژون نی مُدرن

12. Dress

Cravate	کراوات
Faux-col	نگل
Crêpe	پکرپ
Georgette	زدژه
Jersey	زرس
Voile	ووال
Cotte	کٹ

13. Arts

Théâtre	تئاتر
Tableau	تابلو
Antique	آنتیک
Musée	موزه
Canvas	کانوا
Cirque	سرک
Roman	رمان
Acteur	آکٹر
Pièce	پیس

standardized type prevailed in Persian literature and very little prose was written. The drama and novel as literary forms, which in European literature have been chiefly responsible for the introduction of the spoken idiom, were unknown to the Iranians, while all prose works, with the exception of a few recent ones, were written in the traditional style. Prior to the Revolution, this change was foreshadowed in the prose writings of Mīrzā Ja'far Qarāja-dāghī, Mīrzā Malkom Khān, Hājj Mīrzā 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Tāliboff, Mīrzā Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī and a few others whose works are simple, yet do not contain any colloquialism or slang. If we exclude some older satirists and facetiae writers¹, the poets, who in later times struck more popular notes,

In near future	در آئندۀ نزدیک
On the other hand	از طرف دیگر
On this ground or on this subject	در این زمینه
Present year	سال حاضر
Permit me	اجازه بدهید
Shake hands	دست دادن - دست فشاردن
My feelings and sentiments	احساساتِ من
Generous feelings or sentiments	احساساتِ جوانمردانه
Broke the silence	سکوت را در هم شکست
Reminiscence	خاطره
Finally, last of all	بالآخرة
Do you permit me to smoke ?	اجازه میدهید یک سیگار بکشم

¹ Like Sūzānī (d. A.H. 569/A.D. 1173-74), 'Ubayd-i Zākānī (d. *circa* A.H. 772/A.D. 1370), Bushaq-i Aṭ'ima (d. 1416) and Yaghmā (d. 1859).

mostly wrote in provincial dialects, e.g., Mullā Sādiq Rajab of Isfahān¹ and Mīrzā Qāsim Adīb of Kirmān². All these works were of a sporadic nature, yet the fact remains that if literature neglects the spoken idiom, it loses touch with the vital forces of social life, especially in periods of revolution. Since the Revolution of 1906, political and social movements of all kinds have opened up new avenues for writers, both of prose and poetry, and although the general literary style has been little affected, the employment of the living language has become more conspicuous.

Different branches of literature as vehicles of colloquialism.

To estimate the magnitude and importance of the third movement, namely, of democratizing the written language, it may be worth while reviewing the different branches of Persian literature into which colloquial Persian is being introduced by modern writers in the writing of drama, novel, newspapers and periodicals, as well as of poetry.

The drama.

Most of the pre-Revolution dramatic works are translations from English, French or Āzarbāyjān Turkish. Nāshiru'l-Mulk Nā'ibū's-Salṭāna translated Shakespeare's *Othello* into simple modern Persian, which was

¹ His *divān* of poems in the Isfahān dialect has been published.

² Mīrzā Qāsim Adīb's *Khāristān* written in the Kirmān dialect was published at Kirmān in A.H. 1330/A.D. 1911-12. A collection of Kirmānī colloquial terms and expressions arranged in alphabetical order, with their meaning, has been appended to it.

staged only in A.H. 1313 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35. Much more interesting are the independent plays of the Armenian Malkom Khān who represented Irān at the Court of St. James's from 1872 to 1889. He wrote three plays, *Ashraf Khān*, *Zamān Khān* and *Shāh-quli Mirzā*, partly published as a *feuilleton* in the *Ittihād* of Tabriz¹. In the post-Revolution period several playwrights have contributed to the development of the stage art. Āqā Zabīh-i Bihruz, formerly of the University of Cambridge, carried on the Malkom tradition in his satirical *Dijak 'Alī Shāh* and the historical *Shāh-i Irān rā Bānū-yi Arman*, both of which have since been published. Hasan Muqaddam 'Alī Nawrūz, educated in Europe, wrote his comedy *Ja'far Khān az Firang Āmada*² in the popular language, ridiculing the superficial Europeanization of his young compatriots who lost contact with their own country. The play was first staged in 1922 at the Grand Hotel in Tīhrān by the *Irān-i Jarān* club. The republican 'Ishqī wrote the patriotic *Rastākhīz* ("The Resurrection") and the social *Tiyātr-i Qurbān 'Alī Kāshī*, popularly known as *Bachcha-i Gadā* ("The Beggar Boy"). The development of this form of literature has received the approval of numerous other writers, such as Āyatī, 'Abdu'r-Rahīm Khalkhālī, Sa'id-i Nafīsī, Sādiq-i

¹ They were published in a book form by the Kāriyānī Press in Berlin, A.H. 1340/A.D. 1921-22.

² The French translation *Le Cahier Persan* was published at Alexandria (Egypt) in 1926, as the first instalment of the series "Messages d'Orient".

Hidāyat and Mujtabá Minoví¹. It is interesting to note that several dramatic clubs and companies have been started in Tíhrān², and these are likely to give an impetus to the use of popular idiom. More than a hundred dramatic works have so far been written and staged.

The Novel.

Popular and poetic stories have been great favourites at all times and the art of narration has always been greatly appreciated. Modern novels, however, with their realistic tendencies, represent a new epoch in Persian literature. Here, too, the movement began with translations from French. Muḥammad Tāhir Mīrzā, a prince of the blood royal, was the first writer to translate into Persian Alexandre Dumas's *Les Trois Mousquetaires*, *Le Comte de Monte Cristo*, *La Reine Margot*, *Louis XIV* and *Louis XV*. Yūsuf-i I'tisāmī, father of the well-known poetess Parvīn, translated Victor Hugo's *Les Misérables*. *Yakī būd u Yakī nabūd³ of Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamālzādeh (published in 1922) ushered in a new epoch with its democratic tendencies, its choice of themes and deliberate use of words from popular language. Rashīd-i Yāsimī has mentioned in his *Adabiyyāt-i**

¹ For a more complete list of drama writers, refer to Rashīd-i Yāsimī's *Adabiyyāt-i Mu'āṣir*, pp. 131-32, Tíhrān, A.H. 1316 (Solar)/A.D. 1937-38.

² Jāmi'a-i Bārbad, Jāmi'at-i Nakīsā, Klūb-i Firdausī, Kānūn-i Ṣan'atī, Shirkat-i Kumīdī-yi Ikhwān and others.

³ The author himself has supplied in the appendix a glossary of three hundred and seventy-eight slang words and expressions.

*Mu'asir*¹, more than a hundred writers who have contributed to this movement. Among them, Muhammad Mas'ud-i Dihāti, Mir Muhammad Hijāzi, 'Abdu'l-Husayn Ṣan'atizāda, Ṣādiq-i Hidāyat, Sa'id-i Nafisi and the late Jahāngīr-i Jalili deserve special mention.

The newspapers
and periodicals

To meet the rapidly growing public demand, numerous comic and satirical periodicals were started. The lead was given by 'Abdu'l-Hamid Khān Matinu's-Saltāna, a member of the second Majlis under whose editorship the first illustrated comic weekly, the *Tūlū* ("The Dawn"), appeared at Bushire in A.H. 1318/A.D. 1900-1. By 1907, public interest in this kind of literary effort seems to have attained its height, when six comic papers² appeared in Tīhrān, Tabriz and Rasht. A list of the earlier periodicals of this category may be found in Rabino's *Sūrat-i Jarā'id-i Irān* and Browne's well-known work—*The Press and Poetry of Modern Persia*. Amongst the recent papers and periodicals that gave literary currency to the spoken idiom were the *Nāhīd* of Tīhrān, the *Ṣadā-yi Isfahān*, the *Nasīm-i Sabā* of Tīhrān, the *Gul-i Zard* of Tīhrān, the *Tawfiq* of Tīhrān, the *Āgāhī* of Mashhad and the *Ummīd* of Tīhrān, of which the

¹ See p. 110

² The *Āzārbājān* from Tabriz, the *Āgāhī* ("The Information"), the *Tanbih* ("The Admonition") and the *Ṣūr-i Isrāfil* ("The Trumpet-call of Isrāfil") from Tīhrān, and the *Nasīm-i Shīmāl* ("The North Breeze") from Rasht.

first, the fourth and the last were important¹. All of these are now defunct. The *Ummīd* ("Hope") existed for seven years until A.H. 1355/A.D. 1936. Many poets under false *pen-names*² contributed poems in spoken idiom to this paper.

Poetry.

In such surroundings, poetry could not help being influenced by the tendencies of the age. As early as the nineties of the last century, Taqī Dānish of Tīhrān in his gastronomic poems forming the *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm-i Sūrī*, took up the line of Bushaq-i At'ima; famous for the wealth of his culinary vocabulary. The following verses of Dānish that are full of kitchen terms, are quoted as a specimen:

باد دگر الها بارم گشا بشیر از
 کای کردگار باری بالک پلو خورم باز
 از آبها سبکتر دکنی و آب زنگی است
 پس صبح دوپیازه پس شامگاه شش انداز³

¹ The names of the editors of the respective papers are Ibrāhīm Nāhīd, Muḥammad 'Alī Mukram, Ḫusayn-i Kūhī, Yāḥyā Raiḥān, Ḫusayn Tawfiq, Āgāhī and Āqā-yi Ittiḥād.

² After tedious enquiries I succeeded in discovering the real names and pen-names of some of the poets which are given below:

<i>False Takhallus</i>	<i>Names</i>	<i>Real Takhallus</i>
Ajinnah	Sayyid Ghulām Rīzā	Rūhānī
Salandar	Muhammad 'Alī	Nāṣīḥ
Ibn-i Jinnī	'Abbās Khān	Furāt
Qalandar	Abu'l-Qāsim	Zawqī
Shāh-i Pariyūn	Bayūg	Mu'ayyirī

³ *Dīvān-i Ḥakīm-i Sūrī*, pp. 79-80, Tīhrān, A.H. 1317 (Solar)/A.D. 1938-39.

In the wake of the Revolution the introduction of spoken idiom into poetry became more and more conspicuous. In 1907, the *Šūr-i Isrāfīl*, the *Nasīm-i Shimāl* and other comic papers were started, in which articles and poems, written in colloquial style, were a regular feature. The editor of the second journal, Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Din, in particular, displayed this tendency. His poems have been collected and published in a book form under the title *Bāgh-i Bihisht*¹. The following are the opening lines of a poem abounding with slang, which appeared in the issue of the *Nasīm-i Shimāl* dated May 11, 1908:

تا که شیخنا ملنگ است تا در دل ما غبار و زنگ است
 تا پیر دلیل ملت و منگ است تا رشته بدست این دینگ است
 این قانله تا بخت رنگ است =

The following is a free verse rendering by Browne:

While addled is our reverend master's pate,
 And dust and rust our spirits obfuscate,
 And drunk and dizzy's he who guides our fate,
 And this old humbug still directs our gait
 Needs must our caravan be lame and late!²

About the same time Īraj Mirzā, a scion of the Qājār dynasty, went much further in his attempts to maintain the natural flow of everyday speech. The following verses, which form a part of his reasoning

¹ Printed and published by the Kalīmīyān Press, Tīhrān, A.H. 1348/A.D. 1929-30.

² *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 198-99, Tīhrān, A.H., 1338/A.D. 1919-20.

³ Tr. by Browne, see PPMP., p. 105.

with women about the absurdity of the veil, show his characteristic simplicity :

بقر بات مگر سیری؟ پیازی؟ که توی بعچه و چادر عازی
 تو مرأت جمال ذوالجلالی چرا مانند شاغم در جوالی
 سروته بسته چون در کوچه آئی تو خانه‌جان نه باده‌جان مائی
^۱ بدان خوبی در این چادر کریمی هر چیزی بجز انسان شبیه‌ی

Be I sacrificed for thee ! art thou a garlic or an onion
 that thou art wrapped up in a bundle and a prayer
 scarf²;

Thou art the mirror of the beauty of the Lord of
 Glory, why art thou like a turnip in a sack ?

How out thou comest in the street covered head to
 foot ! thou art our beloved lady and not an egg-
 plant ;

With all those charms thou hast, thou lookest ugly in
 the veil, thou resemblest anything but human being.

In 1911, Mīrzā Taqī *Bīniš* Āq-evlī began to publish humorous poems, full of colloquialisms. They appeared in the *Buhlūl* under the heading *Laṭā'if u Zarā'if*. Later on, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ja'far Ḥasrat-zāda Pāzārgādī³, poetically surnamed *Surūd*, regularly contributed poems in the common tongue to the *Shīrāz* weekly *Zarīf* which continued its existence for three years only. A collection of his poems was published in A.H. 1337/A.D. 1918-19 under the

¹ *Dīvān-i Īraj*, pt. ii, p. 25, Tīhrān, A.H. 1309 (Solar)/A.D. 1930-31.

² *Chādur-Namāz* is a sheet put on by ladies in Īrān while saying prayer.

³ A Francized *nisba* derived from the Herodotian *Pasargadæ*.

name *Ghuncha-i Khandān* ("The Smiling Bud"). Simplicity and common colloquial expressions are keynotes in the poetry of Afsar who wrote didactic poems in a humorous vein. His poems were published at Shīrāz in A.H. 1351/A.D. 1932-33, under the name *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*¹. Then came the powerful 'Ishqī who, with the idea of evoking public interest in social and political reforms, began to write his poems in a manner appealing to the masses. The following introductory verses of a *mustazād*, in which he upbraids the fourth *Majlis*, may be quoted as specimen of his style :

این مجلسِ چارم بخدا نشگی بشر بود	دیدی چه خبر بود
هر کار که کردند ضرر دوی ضرر بود ²	دیدی چه خبر بود

Numerous other poets, such as Rūhāni, Nāsiḥ, Furāt, Zawqi and Mu'ayyirī, have written for the people in the language of the people. A collection of Rūhāni's humorous poems has been published under the name *Dīvān-i Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūhāni*. Only a short poem, which is humorous but didactic, is cited below :

من دند ولا ابالي و مستم دلي دلي	پيمانه نوش وباده پرستم دلي دلي
ديشب ز باده توبه نمودم خدا خدا	امشت دو باده توبه شکستم دلي دلي
تا در تهار پاي هزادم امان امان	دارائيم برفت ز دستم دلي دلي ³

¹ His complete *dīvān* is now under publication.

² *Dīvān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 183, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar)/A.D. 1929-30.

³ *Dīvān-i Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūhāni*, pp. 57-58, Tīhrān, A.H. 1313 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35: also *Sukhan*, i, 119-20.

Here is a typical list of colloquial words and expressions in common usage, met with in the writings of modern poets :—

آجیل و ماجیل	Nuts
اخم - انخو	Of sullen countenance
الدنگ	Stupid
بامبیول	Trick
برک	Decoration
بود	Disappointed
بکر	Downcast
پاک و پوز	Appearance
تالی زدن	To while away time
تنبک	Drum
تو	In
تیمچہ	A roofed passage
حفت و کلک	Plot, intrigue, trickery
حفنسگ	Nonsense
چینخ	Shriek
چاپیدن	To plunder
جاد سوق	Cross-road
چپاول	Inroad

چپو	Plunder
چرت	Slumber
چوند	Idle talk
چطرو	How
چک زدن	To slap
چوش	Wild
حرف مفت	Nonsense, useless
خانبائی	Sister
خر خر	Snoring
خوشیگل	Pretty
داش	Brother
ددر	Lane
دک کردن	To get rid of
دمدمی	Fickle-minded
دمش	To lie on the stomach
دوز و گلک	Intrigue, trickery
دوغ	Reckless
دیشو	Bearded
ژرنگ	Smart
شب چره	Nuts, sweets or fruits offered after dinner at a social

شلنجک زدن	To hop
شُلْوَغ	Tumult.
شنگ	Jolly
شِنْكُول	Beautiful
طاس	Completely bald
عَبَّاسِ دُوس	A greedy fellow
عَبَّاسِي كردن	To be greedy
عَرْبَدَه بازى	Effrontery, rowdiness
غُلغُل نمودن	To bubble
فَسْفِس	Inert
قرْقُر	Grumbling
قُبْز	Bragging
قوطى	Box ..
كُتَك	Beating
كُج وچوله	Crooked
كرك	Down (fine short hair)
كشك	Meaningless
كلىپره	Irrelevant
كلمبه	Bombastic
كَرْدَنْ كُفت	Thick-necked, rude, arrogant

گُنْدَه	Bulky
کُول زدن	To trick
لات واوت	Penniless
لاس زدن	To flirt
لَبُو	Cooked beetroot
لَعْ كردن	To show obstinacy
لَكْ زدن	To make scandals
لوُس	Pampered
ماج	Kiss
ملَنْدوغ	Insolent
ملَنْگ	Tipsy
منْگنه	Press machine
ميَخاد	He wants
ناجور	Heterogeneous
نيشنه	It will not be
نيگه	He doesn't say
نه نه	Mother, old maid-servant
والَّيدَن	To stretch, to lie down
ولَكْرَدن	To let go, to leave
ولَكْرَد	Vagabond

ولنگار	Vain talker
ھچل	Impasse, blind alley
ھوچی	Agitator
بادو	Chap, fellow
بللی خواندن	To hum indolently
بواش	Slowly

Preservation of
folk-lore.

Owing to the growing interest of the public in the literature written in popular idiom, several writers proceeded with the task of resuscitating and preserving folk tales, rustic songs and lullabies. Āqā-yi Kūhī has published the *Chahārdah Afsāna* ("Fourteen Folk Tales"), and the *Tarānahā-yi Millī* ("National Tetrastichs") and *Haft Sad Tarāna* ("Seven Hundred Provincial Tetrastichs"). Sādiq-i Hidāyat's *Awsāna*, published in A.H. 1350/A.D. 1931-32, is another interesting collection of rustic songs and lullabies, some of which have been translated into French by Henri Massé in his *Croyances et Coutumes Persanes*, published in Paris in 1938¹.

A beginning was likewise made in the collection of colloquial words and expressions from different dialects. Sayyid Muḥammad 'Alī Djamālzādeh, now attached to the International Labour Office at Geneva, is a great exponent of the spoken idiom. He

¹ Vide vol. ii, pp. 491-99.

has completed a dictionary of colloquialisms and slang entitled *Farhang-i Lughāt-i 'Avāmāna*, which is ready for the press. Mention may be made of another young writer, Āqa Ghulām Husayn Muhtashim who is preparing a rhymed glossary ("Nisāb") of such words and phrases. Some of the introductory verses are quoted below :

گوش کن ای عزیز این اشعار تا بکار آیدت گه گفتار
 بس لغتای عامی و ساده اندرين جزوه جمع افتداده
 "اشغال" است خرده ریز کثیف آید از بوی بد نائی "پیف"
 "اخم" در هم کشیدن صورت "ارقه" شد نادرست و بیغیرت

Resolution of the
Ministry of Public
Instruction.

As time went on, the tendency attracted official attention and the Advisory Board of the Ministry

of Public Instruction of Īrān resolved that a collection of words and phrases from current dialects, folk-tales and folk-songs, peculiar to each province of Īrān, should be prepared¹. It was under the auspices of this Ministry that the popular poems collected by Āqā Husayn-i Kūhī was published in A.H. 1357/A.D. 1938.

Part played by
gramophone.

It is interesting to note that in recent years gramophone records²

¹ Vide the *Ta'lim u Tarbiyyat*, the former monthly organ of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Farvardīn-issue of A.H. 1315 (Solar), p. 8, item 7.

² As for example, the *qīṣā*, of which the opening verses are :

کلقتی آورده خانم تو خونه پیش خانم هست در دونه
 لاغزمه و مسردنی و بی جونه اینش خوبه که زلفش آلا کارسونه

have assisted the movement in increasing the circulation of this type of poems and the language in which they are written.

The examples quoted above show that the use of a simpler style, punctuated by some expressive colloquial words, is gradually breaking up the too rigid forms of Classical Persian. From the clouds of abstract mystical ideas, Modern poetry descends to earth and becomes earthy ; while it loses some of its former grandeur, it becomes more intelligible to the masses, whose level of literacy is meanwhile daily rising.

Also the *Tasnif* that begins with :

میگذشتم شبی زیر بازارچه گذبندک
چشممر افتاد و دیدم زنی را بزیر عیندک

IV

METRES

Meter, Stanzas etc. Iran had her poetry long before Avesta.¹ the adoption of the Arabic laws of metre and versification. A commendable tradition of religious poetry is embodied in the *Gāthās* that form the most ancient and holy portion of the Avesta. These hymns certainly obey some definite laws of rhythm and cadence. According to Moulton, 'Verse in the Avesta depends only on the numbering of syllables and the placing of the Cæsura'. In his *Early Persian Poetry*, Prof. Jackson observes: 'The Gāthā metres are of seven types'. Even apart from them, metrical stanzas are found in the *Yashts* and in other parts of the Avesta as well².

Non-existence of poetry during the Achaemenian period improbable.

No specimen of the poetic production of the Achaemenian period has come down to us. A vocabulary of a few hundred words is preserved in the

¹ J. H. Moulton, *Early Persian Poetry of Iran*, p. 17, Cambridge, 1911.

² A. V. Williams Jackson, *Early Persian Poetry*, p. 4, footnote 2, New York, 1920.

³ According to Fürst David's computation, the total number of metrical stanzas in the Avesta is 278 (—1016 lines) out of which 238 stanzas (—896 lines) belong to the Gāthās alone. (See Fürst David, *The Gāthā of Zarathushtra*, p. 67, Persian Introduction at p. 43, English translation by D. J. Irani, Bombay, 1927.)

Persian cuneiform inscriptions¹. But considering the wonderful architectural monuments and the high artistic conceptions of the Achæmenian times, it seems improbable that the poetic genius of the Iranians was then dormant. Though Friedrich's attempt to prove the metrical character of the Achæmenian inscriptions cannot be considered conclusive², the writings of Xenophon³ and Chares of Mytilene⁴ go to show that minstrel poetry did exist during that period.

Existence of verse in Sasanian times. The names of the minstrels Sar-kash⁵, Bārbud⁶ and Nakīsā and the names of the various Iranian melodies⁷ as recorded in different dictionaries indicate that poetry thrived at the court of the Sasanians. Attempts have been made to prove the existence of metrical lines in Pahlavi literature. Dr. F. C. Andreas claims to have

¹ According to Darmesteter, not much more than 400 separate words (See *Etudes Iraniennes*, i, 7). Since then some more inscriptions containing other words have been discovered. *Vide* F. H. Weissbach's article 'The Old Persian Inscription' translated from German into English by Rev. D. Mackichan, pp. 672-705 of the *Dr. Modi Memorial Volume*, mbay, 1930. See also J. M. Unvala's Engl. trans. of the great inscription on Darius's Palace at Susa and several smaller ones described by Herzfeld.

² *Orientalistische Literatur Zeitung*, 1928, cols. 238 et seqq.

³ Cf. Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 1, 3, 10.

⁴ *Vide* Yonge's Engl. trans. of Chares' *History of Alexander*, 3, 919-920, London, 1854.

⁵ *Vide* Prof. A. Christensen's article 'La Vie Musicale dans la Civilisation des Sassanides' published in the April-October, 1936 issue of the *Bulletin de L'Association Française des Amis de L'Orient*, p. 24 et seqq.

⁶ Cf. Browne's article in the *JRAS.*, 1899, p. 54 et seqq. and *LHP.*, i, 14-15, foot-note No. 2.

⁷ See Prof. A. Christensen's article 'Some Notes on Persian Melody-Names of the Sasanian Period' published in the *Dastur Hoshang Memorial Volume*, pp. 368-388, Bombay, 1909.

discovered a metrical passage in the Hājiābād inscription¹. An endeavour to discover rhythm in the *Bundahishn* has been made by M.H.S. Nyberg², while in the opinion of M.E. Benveniste, the *Draxt-i Asurik*³ contains metrical lines based on the number of syllables. According to Christensen, it is quite possible that the *Hazaj* metre has been evolved from the earlier syllabic forms⁴. The syllabic principle of Middle Persian poetry seems to survive in the dialectal poetry of Irān down to our own time. The popular poetry quoted by some early authors⁵ under the significant name *Fahlaviyyāt*⁶ favours the supposition that this poetry directly bears the previous tradition. To the same category belong the present day folk-songs⁷ and the poetry of the

¹ Asadī, *Lughat-i Furs* (ed. Paul Horn), p. 17, Berlin, 1897; Arthur Christensen, *Les Gestes des Rois dans les traditions de l' Iran antique*, p. 46, Paris, 1936.

² J. A., 1929, p. 214.

³ *Ibid.*, 1930, p. 193 et seqq.; 1932, p. 245 et seqq.

⁴ A. Christensen, *Les Gestes des Rois dans les traditions de l' Iran antique*, p. 53, Paris, 1936.

⁵ Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qays-i Rāzī, *Al-Mu'jam*, pp. 12, 80 81, 83, and 142-47, Leyden, 1909.

⁶ Cf. Pindār-i Rāzī:

لَبِنْ اورامن بیت پهلوی زخمه رو و سماع خسروی

Also Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān:

پشدو و نیکو شنو نغمه خنیاگران پهلوانی سماع بخشروانی طریق

The following specimens of folk-songs, composed on syllabic system are interesting:

بهی کن که بهی به دل از گینه تهی به
همان کس که بدی کرد هر او گفت بهی به

بیا برید تا می خورید شراب ملک ری خورید
حالا ذخیرید پس کی خورید

Gurans¹.

Arabic metres
adopted and modified

With the Arab conquest of Īrān, the minds of the Iranians, at least of the class connected with administrative affairs, became rapidly influenced by Muslim civilisation. Their progress in Arabic was no less rapid than that of their successors of the twentieth century in French. Without any difficulty they mastered Arabic poetics and became accustomed to the Arabic metres which are based upon quantity. It was then only natural to apply the newly acquired canons to the Persian language. The general character of Persian words is, however, very peculiar as regards their metrical value. There is a great scarcity of short syllables in Persian and this alone required a considerable readaptation of Arabic metres. Some of the Arabic metres devised to suit a language abounding in short syllables, are hardly ever used in Persian. On the contrary, some metres, rare or entirely unknown in Arabic, have been especial favourites with the poets of Īrān. Of the thirty metres utilised by the Iranians, fifteen were formu-

دیشیب که بارون او مدد یارم لب بون او مدد
رفتم لبیش ببوسر نازک بود و خون او مدد
خونش چکید تو با غصه یه دسه گل در او مدد

یه بام for بون او مدد، باران بارون stands for بارون
for بیک and دسه دسته for دسته.

—[Şadiq-i Hidāyat, *Avsāna*, p. 32. Tīhrān, A.H. 1310 (Solar)/A.D. 1931].

¹ *Vide* Major E.B. Soane's article 'A Short Anthology of Gurān Poetry', published in the *JRAS.*, 1921, pp. 57-81.

lated by Khalil b. Ahmad¹, one by Abu'l-Hasan Akhfaš and three by the Iranians who subsequently added eleven more². Among these metres, the *Jadid*, *Qarib* and *Mushakil* are favoured by the Iranians, while the *Tanîl*, *Madił*, *Bâṣît*, *Watîr* and *Kâmil* are for the most part popular with the Arabs. The remaining metres are employed in both Arabic and Persian³. The following verses of Nasiru'd-Din Fûṣatu'd-Dawla, poetically surnamed *Fîṣat* (A.H. 1271-1339 = A.D. 1854-1920), will serve as *memoria technica* for these facts:

بُودی که خصوص باشد عِمْ دا
جدید و غریب است و زیکر مشاکل
طوبیل و مدبّد و بسط از عرب شد
دو زیکر یکی و اندر و نیز کامل
جز این شعرها آنچه مذکور است باشی
و مترک دان تو ای مرد عاقل

New nomenclature proposed by Āyatî and Yahyâ Dawlatâbâdî show no inclination to question the system adopted by their ancestors. Āyatî does not go very far in an article, published in his *Namakdân*⁴ ("The Salt-Cellar"), while strongly recommending the rejection of the Arabic names of metres that are, in his opinion,

¹ Died A.H. 175/A.D. 791-92.

² According to Shamsu'd-Dîn Muhammed b. Qays-i Râzî twenty-one metres were added (v. *Al-Mu'jam*, p. 152, Leyden, 1901).

³ Nâjaf-qulî Mîrzâ, *Durrâ-i Nâjafî*, p. 12, Bombay, A.H. 1333.

⁴ *Namakdân*, No. 9, pp. 38-48 and No. 12, pp. 4-27 (second series).

inappropriate. Apart from the new Persian metrical nomenclature, he has failed to propound any new metrical theory. Though his terminology has not received any recognition, it is in keeping with the general tendency towards Purism. He suggests *Bahr* (portion) for the Arabic *Bahr* (metre) to mean metre, and *Sanjish* (measure) for *Taqṭī* (to scan) to mean scansion. According to him, the radicals س د و د are more appropriate than the Arabic ف ع ل ن which play the main parts in the formation of the different metrical feet.

Āyatī gives the following Persian equivalents for eight Arabic mnemonics or feet that constitute the various metres :

1. Sarūdām	سرودم	for	Fa'ūlun
2. Mīsarā	میسرا	"	Fā'ilun
3. Sarā'īdām	سرائیدم	"	Mafā'ilun
4. Mīsarāyām	میسرايم	"	Fā'ilātun
5. Bisrūdāmī	بسرودمی	"	Mustaf'īlun
6. Bisrūdīm	بسرودیم	"	Maf'ūlatu
7. Sarūda-amī	سرودهامي	"	Maf'āilatun
8. Bisarāyamī ¹	بسرايمی	"	Mutafā'ilun

Further, Āyatī proposes new Persian names for

¹ Here reference may be made to the following interesting mnemonics ingeniously invented for Urdū prosody by Sayyid Inshā Allāh Khān, poetically surnamed *Inshā* (d. A.H. 1233/A.D. 1817):

صاحب بخش، چنچل پری، نور باشی، پری خان، چتلگن، پیازو، بنام پتی and چتوت هتی۔

—See his *Daryā-i Latāfat*, pp. 372-74, Murshidābād (Bengal), 1850.

the thirty metres as follows :—

1. Rajaz ¹	رجز	for	Rajaz
2. Z̄hārf	ژرف	"	Ramal
3. Naghz	نغیز	"	Wāfir
4. Sara	سره	"	Kāmil
5. Khush-navā	خوشنوا	"	Hazaj
6. Razm-āvar	رزم آور	"	Mutaqārib
7. Yak-navākht	یکنواخت	"	Mutadārik ²
8. Pur-āshūb	پُرآشوب	"	Muqtżib
9. Dushvār	دشوار	"	Munsariḥ
10. Farkhunda	فرخنده	"	Muzāri'
11. Barāzanda	برازنده	"	Mujtass
12. Kashīda	کشیده	"	Tawīl
13. Jān-fizā	حافنزا	"	Madīd
14. Ravān	روان	"	Basīt
15. Shitābān	شتاتان	"	Sarī'
16. Sabuk	سبک	"	Khafif
17. Tāza	تازه	"	Jadīd
18. Dil-pasand	دلپسند	"	Qarīb
*19. Gūnā-gūn	گونا گون	"	Mushākil

¹ As this word is quite popular, Āyatī prefers to retain it (*Namakdān*, No. 12, p. 5).

² This metre is said to have been formulated by Abu'l-Hasan Akhfash.

* These nineteen metres can be remembered with the help of the following verses :

رجز خفیف و زمل منیرخ دگر میخت
بسیط و وافز و کامل هزج طویل و مدد

20. Pahnāvar	پناور	for	'Arīz
21. Sangīn	سنگین	„	'Amīq
22. Burīda	بریده	„	Şarīm
23. Dil-kash	دلکش	„	Kabīr
24. Shab-āhang	شب آهنگ	„	Badīl
25. Digar-gūn	دگرگون	„	Qalīb
26. Ravānbakhsh	روان بخش	„	Hamīd
27. Sabuk-rūh	سبک روح	„	Şaghīr
28. Giryā-khīz	گریه خیز	„	Aşamm
29. Shah-nāzī	شہنمازی	„	Salīm
30. Sanjīda	سنجدہ	„	Hamīm

Persian poems in
Iambic metre.

Nothing extraordinary has yet been achieved in the creation of new metres. An attempt to improve the Arabic metre is found in two short stanzas, of which one is similar to the Latin Iambic and the other to the tonic. The second specimen is more interesting because, in it, the tonic principles have been made to coincide with the quantitative system.

مشاکل و متقارب سریع و مقتضب است
مضارع و متدارک قریب و نیز جدید

—(Blochmann's Prosody of the Persians, p. 23).

Āyatī's *memoria technica* for the above is:

نغز و رزمر آور روان دشوار و گـوناگون رجز
تازه و فرخنده پـرآشوب و ژرف و خوشذوا
پـس درازنده کـشیده پـس شتابان یـکـذـواـخت
دلپـسـند است و سره آنگـه سـبـک پـس جـانـفـزا

—(Namakdān No. 12, second series, p. 5.)

Apparently the authors of these poems have had the idea of effecting a variation in the structure of the *rubā'i*. Nevertheless, they have shown new possibilities by producing charming poems on Iambic patterns. No wonder that the Iranian Muse may one day direct her attention towards the introduction of the Classical European metrical system into Persian.

The stanza in the Latin Iambic pentameter runs thus:

شی نگار گذار من شسته بود در کشاد من
اُلک ز دوی ماه جاوه داشت زمین ز نور دوی باد من

The second specimen which is a tonic Iambic tetrameter, has a good swing and grace:

از ان زمان که شد روان ز چشم من نگار من
چه چشمها شده روان از اشک بر کشاد من¹

In connection with the last quoted poem we may record here some recent developments in the use of cæsuras. They were known to the poets of the

¹ The metre on which these verses are composed is a variation of the *Hazaj* called *Maqūz*. Compare Qā'and's *Murīmat* in praise of the Queen-mother (Mahd-i 'Ulyā, mother of Nāṣru'd-Din Shah Qājāt) and his *Qasida* in praise of Mīrzā Taqī Khān Amit-i Kabir, the first of which begins thus:

بنفسه روسته از زمین بطریق جویبارها

و یا گستله حور مین ز زلف خویش تارها

and the second:

نیم خلاد بی ورد ز جویبارها

بوی مشک میدهد هوای مرغزارها

...

Classical period¹, but at present their effect is being realised more consciously².

Attempt to revive syllabic system.

Actual departure from the traditional metrical principles is found only in three poems, two of which were composed by Yahyá Dawlatábádí and the third by Áyatí. In 1930, while in Switzerland, Yahyá composed two poems entitled *Subh-dam*³ ("At Dawn") and *Sabk-i Tāza*⁴ ("A New Style"), just to show the possibility of composing Persian verses according to the syllabic system. He made this attempt at the instance of the late Professor Browne, who, it seems, was eager to substantiate by example his conviction that Persian poems could be composed without the help of Arabic prosody⁵.

Yahyá's first poem entitled *Subh-dam* comprises

¹ Note the cæsuras in the following lines of Sa'dí occurring in his *Tayyibát*:

دانی چه گفت مرا آن بلبل سسخی
تو خود چه آدمشی کن عشق بی خبری
اشتر بشعر عرب در حال تست و طرب
گر ذوق نیست ترا کج طبع جانوری
دیگر نظر نکنم بالای سرو چمن
دیگر صفت نکنم رفتار کبک دری

² Cf. The following verse of Hüdī Hāyirī has cæsuras at regular intervals:

باز شد پدید، در جهان خزان، شد تهی ز برگ، شاخ گلستان
ذو شگفتده گل، از میان باغ، پشت پرده رفت، کرد رخ نهان

—(*Sukhan*, i, 411.)

³ Yahyá Dawlatábádí, *Urdibihisht*, pp. 124-126, Tíhrán, 1304 A.H. (Solar).

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 123-124, and also K. Chaikin, *KONPL.*, pp. 106-107 Moscow, 1928.

thirteen stanzas, each of five hemistichs. In every stanza, each of the first three hemistichs (which rhyme together) consists of twelve syllables, while each of the last two hemistichs (which rhyme between them separately) is composed of seven syllables. So far as cæsuras are concerned, the plan is (7+5) for the first three and (4+3) for the last two hemistichs in each stanza, though the poet does not maintain it in many places. The first stanza runs as follows:

صیحه دم بیانه شد از خفتن ابویز
 جام پیداری در کف کج داد و مریز
 خواب با چشم انداز جنگ و گریز
 نه خواب بودم نه پیدار
 نه مست بودم نه هوشیار^۱

The second poem has eight stanzas, each of six hemistichs. In every stanza, each of the first five hemistichs consists of eight syllables, while the hemistichs standing sixth in all the stanzas rhyme together and comprise ten syllables each. Here the plan of cæsuras may be represented as (4+4) in each hemistich. The first stanza of this poem is quoted below:

من در عالم جویم آدم عائل دانا کامل بینا
 نیکو خصلات نیکو طینت صاحب همت صاحب عنزت
 شخص رنگین مرد سنگین از هرچه بود این به در عالم^۲

¹ Yahyá Dawlatábádi, *Urdibihisht*, pp. 124-26.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 127-128.

In Amurdād, 1309 (July, 1930), Āyatī in his *Namakdān* published a poem composed on the syllabic system. All the twelve hemistichs of this poem have the same kind of rhyme. The scheme of cæsuras is (10 + 10), with slight deviations here and there. The poem begins thus :

چو بدام عشق تو افتادم ز قیود و سلسنه آزادم
نکم خود را بجهان پابند که بازادی ز جهان زادم^۱

To sum up, no serious attempt has yet been made to alter the classical system, nor is there any feeling of inconvenience about it. The Arabic metrical system has survived not only because everybody became accustomed to it, but possibly because it is still capable of further development. Āyatī has applied Persian nomenclature to the different metres and furnished them with Persian mnemonics. He has said nothing about the system and has not succeeded in advancing any new metrical theory. Yaḥyā has endeavoured only to indicate the possibility of composing poems in Persian without the help of Arabic metres. His specimens, not unreasonably criticized by Vahid², are at once crude, artificial and devoid of poetic value. But apart from the poetical merits and demerits of the poems of Yaḥyā and Āyatī, we cannot deny the fact that they are interesting as the first attempts of the poets to revive the ancient metres of Irān. Persian

¹ *Namakdān*, No. 8, 1st year, pp. 424-25.

² *Armaghān*, v. 584-86.

poetry, as the folk-songs and popular poetry of Irān indicate, can be of considerable importance towards the attainment of this aim. Likewise it can draw new inspiration from the European metrical systems. The task, however, is still left to the master-hands to demonstrate the great possibilities of these systems in Persian.

V

VERSE-FORMS

Traditional
classification.

For their various verse-forms and rhyme schemes, as for all else pertaining to the construction of their poetry, the Iranians are mostly indebted to the Arabs to whose system, however, they have added many new features representing either a survival of the ancient Iranian forms or those newly invented.

Rückert¹ following the author of the *Haft Qulzum*² ("The Seven Seas"), has enumerated the following eleven verse-forms in Persian poetry :—

1. *Ghazal* (Ode).
2. *Qasīda* (Panegyric).
3. *Tashbīb* (Exordium).
4. *Qit'a* (Fragment).
5. *Rubā'i* (Quatrain).
6. *Fard* (Unit).
7. *Masnavī* (Doublets).
8. *Tarjī-band* (Return-tie).
9. *Tarkīb-band* (Composite-tie).
10. *Mustazād* (Increment-poem).
11. *Musammāt* (Multiple-poem).

¹ Rückert, *Grammatik, Poetik und Rhetorik der Perser* (ed., Pertsch), p. 55.

² Qabūl Muḥammad, *Haft Qulzum*, Nawal Kishore edition, part vii, p. 44.

Criticism.

This traditional classification of verse-forms is not free from criticism. Like Shamsu'd-Dīn Qays ar-Rāzī¹, Gladwin² has classed the *tarjī'-band* and the *tarkīb-band* together under *tarjī'*. According to Browne, their classification should be limited to six kinds only³, while Prof. Nicholson considering the question formally, further reduces the number to five main types⁴.

The traditional classification of verse-forms, however, is not without its justification. Let us, first of all, consider the case of the *tashbīb* in relation to the *qaṣīda*. A *qaṣīda* may or may not contain a *tashbīb*⁵. Allowed to stand alone as a complete poem, the *tashbīb* may claim to have formed a class by itself.

The *qīṭ'a* cannot form a separate class, if it is only extracted from a *qaṣīda*. But when a poem is composed in monorhyme, dealing with a single topic in such a manner that it cannot be classed as a *rubā'i* or *ghazal*, it definitely forms a distinct class.

The *tarkīb-band* and the *tarjī'-band* may be regarded as two distinct classes, the former having a variable and the latter an invariable refrain.

The *fard* would seem to be a *bayt* expressing a

¹ Shamsu'd-Dīn Qays ar-Rāzī, *Al-Mu'jam* (ed. Mirzā Muḥammad, in Gibb Memorial Series, Vol. X.), p. 372, 1909.

² Gladwin, *Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody and Rhyme*, p. 1, Calcutta, 1798.

³ LHP., ii, 23.

⁴ R. A. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Poetry*, pp. 2-3. Cambridge, 1921.

⁵ U. M. Daudpota, *The Influence of Arabic Poetry on the Development of Persian Poetry*, p. 32 (foot-note), Bombay, 1934; also Gladwin, *Dissertations on the Rhetoric, Prosody and Rhyme of the Persians*, p. 5, Calcutta, 1798.

complete thought or idea. In other words, it represents a class of monoverse poems or apophthegms, with or without rhyme, often quoted to illustrate and emphasize the point of the speaker.

Verse-forms
classified according
to rhyme schemes.

So far as the variety of rhyme schemes is concerned, we may classify the verse-forms in the

following manner:—

1. Those verse-forms in which second hemistichs (عِصْمَه) of all the distichs (سَيْفَه) rhyme together. Under this head we may put the *qasīda*, *tashbib*, *ghazal*, *qit'a* and *mustazād*.
2. Those in which the two hemistichs of each distich rhyme together and are quite independent of the rhymes of the other distichs in a poem, e.g., the *maṣnawī*.
3. Those composed of four hemistichs in which all four or at least the first, second and fourth hemistichs have the same sort of rhyme, e.g., the *rubā'i* and *du-baytī*.
4. Those consisting of a succession of four, five or six-line strophes, each of which has an inside rhyme of its own, to the exclusion of the closing hemistich which rhymes with the closing hemistichs of other strophes, e.g., the *musammat*¹.

¹It may be noted here that *Minūchihrī* has another form of *musammat* in which all the hemistichs of each strophe rhyme together without any continuity in rhyme between the different strophes. The rhyme scheme may be represented as : a a a a a a, b b b b b b, c c c c c c and so on.

5. Those in which all the hemistichs have the same rhyme throughout the poem, e.g., the *tamām-maṭla'*.
6. Those consisting of a series of strophes which are connected with one another by variable or invariable refrains. These strophes, each independently rhymed, follow the rhyme scheme of the *qaṣīda* or *ghazal* while the hemistichs of each refrain rhyme with each other, differing from those of the preceding or succeeding strophes, e.g., the *tarkīb-band* and *tarjī'-band*.

Growth and development.

A survey of the growth and development of these verse-forms cannot be given chronologically owing to the extinction of pre-Samanid literature and absence of sufficient records. Only a general observation is being offered below to throw light on this point.

The fundamental verse-form which the Iranians borrowed from the Arabs, and with which neo-Persian poetry began, is the *qaṣīda*, the only finished type of verse-form. It has four parts, technically known as the *tashbīb* ("Erotic prelude") the *takhhallus* or *gurīz-gāh* ("Transition-verse"), the *madiḥa* ("Panegyric") and the *maqṭa'* ("Concluding verse").

The diverse themes suggested by the natural environment and racial characteristics of the Iranian mind demanded a greater scope and variety in the rhyme scheme.

Poetically considered, the *tashbīb* is a part of the *qasīda*, giving as it does the greatest scope to the soaring up of the poet's phantasy. With certain adaptations and limitations the Iranians developed it into the *ghazal*¹. In this sense it may be called an Iranian invention. From the following verse of 'Unṣūrī, it may be seen that Rūdakī (d. A.H. 329/A.D. 940-41), wrote *ghazals*:

غزل دودکی واد نیکو بود غزلهای من رودکی واد نیست
اگرچه بکوشم بیاریک وهم بدین پرده اند رمرا بار نیست²

Another important verse-form which is typically Iranian, is the *Ruba'ī*. The highest philosophical thoughts and most abstruse mystical doctrines have found expression in it. According to Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. Qays-i Rāzī³, this verse-form is called *rubā'ī* because in Arabic poetry the *hazaj* metre is composed of four feet and so two Persian hemistichs in this metre are tantamount to four Arabic hemistichs. But the Iranian term *du-bayt* (دیست), with its plural *du-baytāt* (دیتات), as used by Arab writers, clearly proves that it is an Iranian invention, afterwards borrowed by the Arabs.

Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad Qays⁴ and others have attributed the invention of the *rubā'ī* to Rūdakī. But the three quatrains ascribed to the great saint

¹ *Al-Mu'jam*, pp. 383-85.

² *Al-Mu'jam*, p. 90.

³ 'Awfi (ed. Browne), *Lubāb*, ii, p. 6.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 88.

Bâyazîd-i Bâstâmî (d. A.H. 260/A.D. 873-4) by Rîzâ-qulî Khân Hidâyat in his *Majma'u'l-Fusahâ*¹, refute this view. One of the quatrains runs thus:

ای عشق تو کُشته عارف و عامی دا سودای تو گم کرده نکو نامی دا
ذوق لب میگون تو آورده برون از صویعه بازید بسطامی دا²

There is a distinction between *rubâ'i* and *du-baytî*. The former has twenty-four metres, peculiar to itself, all of them derived from the *Hazaj*, while the latter may be composed in any metre.

The Iranians needed another verse-form, which could be best suited for their long epic, erotic, ethical and mystical themes. The monorhyme pattern was too stiff for the purpose. Consequently they invented the *mâsnâvî* which affords perfect freedom in the diversity of rhyme and puts no limitation on the number of verses. This verse-form has been a useful vehicle to the Iranians for their legends, romances and moral and mystical philosophy. It is as old as Rûdakî, if not still older. Many couplets of his versified version of the *Kalîla va Dimna* are still preserved in various lexicons³. The *mâsnâvî* was introduced into Arabic under the name *Muzdalawaj* only during the post-Classical period (late tenth century onwards⁴)..

¹ Vol. i, p. 65.

² Vol. i, p. 65

³ Asadî, *Lughat-i Furs* (ed. Paul Horn), pp. 19-20, Berlin, 1897. *Farhang-i Jahangîrî* (written in A.H. 1005/A.D. 1596-97), *Farhang-i Rashîdî* (written in A.H. 1064/A.D. 1653-54), *Farhang-i Anjuman-i Arâ-yi Nâṣiri* (published in A.H. 1288/A.D. 1871-72), etc.

⁴ LHP., ii, 26.

By giving further artistic touches to the *qaṣīda*, the Iranians produced five more verse-forms, namely, the *musammat*, *tamām-maṭla'*, *tarjī-band*, *tarkīb-band* and *mustazād*, of which the first two are more musical than the rest. Minūchihri of the court of the Ghaznavid Mas'ūd (A.D. 1030-40) was very fond of the *musammat*. He also wrote a poem in the *tamām-maṭla'* form which begins thus :

ساقی بیا که امشب ساقی بکار باشد
زان ده مرا که زنگش چون جلنار باشد¹

The *tarjī-band* and *tarkīb-band*, with refrains to avoid monotony, are actually the first attempt towards the formation of strophe poems. The *tarjī-band* is a *ritornelle* with a constant refrain striking the same note. The *tarkīb-band* with its changing refrains is less monotonous and more suited for long narratives, although great masters with the exception of Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān (A.D. 1046-1122), Jamāl-u'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Razzāq of Iṣfahān (d. A.D. 1192), Sa'dī (d. A.D. 1291), Hāfiẓ (d. A.D. 1389) and Hātif (d. A.D. 1784), have rarely employed it.

The *mustazād*² with its increment lines has a grace of its own. The Classical poets, however, do not seem to be very fond of it, though Sa'd-i Salmān has a short *mustazād* in praise of Sultān Mas'ūd III (A.H.

¹ A. de Biberstein Kazimirski, *Menoutchehri*, p. 31 (Persian text), Paris, 1886.

² Prof. 'Abdu'r-Rahmān is of opinion that the *Mustazād* has been derived from the Arabic *Muwashshah*. See his *Mir'atu'sh-Shi'r*, pp. 46-47, Delhi, 1926.

492-508/A.D. 1099-1114). The opening verses read :

کشته عیان	ای کنگار سلطان انصاف تو بکیان
اندر جهان ^۱	مسعود شهر یاری خورشید نامداری

So far we have spoken of the Classical verse-forms and rhyme schemes. Almost simultaneously with the commencement of the constitutional movement in Īrān, various innovations in the rhyme scheme were introduced. The modern poets, not quite free from racial prejudice against the Arabs, found the Classical verse-forms too conventional and narrow for the expression of their new thoughts and themes. It is true that the conservative Īraj disapproved of any deviation from tradition and censured the Modernists in these words :

اين جوانان که تعدد طلبند
راسى دشمن علم و ادبند

These youths who are Modernists,
are truly enemies of learning and literature.

But the spirited Modernists are bent upon making innovations in the rhyming system. There are two groups among them—the moderates and the extremists. The moderates, with their compromising spirit, endeavoured to develop the Classical forms by effecting certain alterations in them. The youthful extremists were not satisfied with these minor

¹ *Dīrān-i Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān* (ed. Rāshīd-i Yāsimī), pp. 561-62.
Tīhrān, A.H. 1318 (Solar)/A.D. 1938-39.

modifications. They tend to condemn the Classical forms wholesale as antiquated and no longer suitable vehicles for the expression of the new thoughts and themes, created by modern necessities and inventions. They demanded a thorough reformation and change. Habib-i Yaghmā'i boldly exclaims :

تا بکی تقليد سبک دیگران، بايست دیخت
طرحی از نو همچو طرح خواجهها خیامها

How long (are we) to imitate the style of others ?

We ought to start a new line as Hāfiẓ and Khayyām (have done before).

Sarmad voices his view thus :

سرمد بوجم انجمن رسم غزل هم تازه کن
چون اوستادان سخن خود را بلند آوازه کن

O Sarmad ! contrary to the multitude, renovate thou, too, the mode of ghazal,

Like unto the masters of poetry make thyself of high repute.

From this conflict of two tendencies, two different kinds of change in the verse-forms have resulted, one brought about by indigenous efforts and the other by exotic influences. The former was produced by the poets either of the stay-at-home variety or of a conservative frame of mind, while the latter was originated by those poets who had visited Europe and made it their intellectual home. Thus in considering the results produced under these influences, our observations may conveniently be

recorded under two sections, namely :

- a) New verse-forms produced indigenously, and
- b) Those produced under European influence.

*a) NEW VERSE-FORMS PRODUCED
INDIGENOUSLY*

Lead given by Ishqī. So far as innovations of native growth are concerned, Ishqī gave the lead by producing two strophe poems in which he made deliberate deviations from the Classical models. The first is entitled "احتیاج ای احتیاج" (Need! O Need!) and consists of four strophes, each of nine hemistichs and an increment line rhyming thus:—a a a a a a a x x, b b b b b b b x x, c c c c c c c x x and so on. The second poem headed "ای دوزگار ای دوزگار" (O World! O World!) comprises eight strophes, each of six hemistichs, according to the formula a a a a a a, b b b b a a, c c c c a a and so on.

The forms, complex indeed, combine in them the characteristics of three different verse-forms—the *musammaṭ*, the *tarjī'-band* and the *mustazād*. They might have been called *musammaṭs*, if it were not for the repetition of the last hemistich in each strophe. We could have termed them *tarjī'-bands*, had all the hemistichs in each strophe been

¹ *Dīvān-i 'Ishqī* (ed. Salīmī), pp. 147-49, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar); *Sukhan*, i, 228-29.

² *Dīvān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 149-51.

in mono-rhyme and had the burdens resembling the *mustazād* been identical with other hemistichs in quantity.

The first strophe of the poem "احتیاج ای احتیاج" is quoted below by way of illustration :

هر گناهی آدمی عمدًا بعالم میکند
 احتیاج است آنکه اسبابش فراهم میکند
 ورنہ کی عمدًا گناه اولاد آدم میکند
 یا که از بھر خطأ خود را مصمم میکند
 احتیاج است آنکه زو طبع بشر دم میکند
 شادی یکساله را یکروزه ماتم میکند
 احتیاج است آنکه قدر آدمی کم میکند
 در بر نامرد پشت مرد را خم میکند
 ای که شیران را کنی دوبه مزاج

^۱احتیاج ای احتیاج

Every sin that a man commits intentionally on earth,
 'tis Need that equips him with reasons,

Else how could the children of Adam commit sin
 intentionally or make up their minds to the perpetra-
 tion of crimes ?

'Tis Need, due to which the nature of man vacillates
 (and) turns a year-long pleasure into sorrow in one
 day ;

'Tis need that humbles the dignity of a man (and)
 makes a brave man stoop before a coward ;

¹ *Dīvān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 147-49.

'Tis thou that reducest lions to the nature of a fox,
Need ! O Need !

The *Panj-gāna*
and the *Sishgāna*. Next Afsar, a veteran poet of the
blood royal and until lately Presi-
dent of the *Anjuman-i Adabi-yi Irān* (Literary
Society of Irān), appeared on the scene. He devised
two new verse-forms, which he termed *Khumāsī* or
Panj-gāna and *Sudāsī* or *Sishgāna*. Vahīd-i Dastagardī,
the editor of the *Armaghān*, tried to popularize the
former by holding a competition. *Shahriyār*, Nātiq
and Āzād of Hamadān took part in the competi-
tion¹. These forms are only modifications of the
rubā'ī to which one or two hemistichs have been
added to form a *Khumāsī* or *Sudāsī*. Their respec-
tive rhyme schemes are a a x x a and a a a x x x.
But Āyatī who also composes poems in this form²,
has always followed the rhyme scheme a a a a a.

A *Khumāsī* and a *Sudāsī* by Afsar are given be-
low as specimens :

بهر تو لباس وطن ای دوست نگوست
آن جامه که از عدو است شایسته اوست
انصف بده که فرق دارد یا نه
این باتفاق خودیست آن بیگانه
این رسته دشمن است آن رسته دوست³

¹ *Armaghān*, ix, 21 and 100.

² *Namakdān*, i, 85 and 284.

³ *Armaghān*, viii, 360; *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 22. *Shīrāz*, A.H. 1311
(Solar)/A.D. 1932-33; *Sukhan*, ii, 46.

For thee, O Friend, a dress of native manufacture is good,
The dress which is made by an enemy is suitable for him;
Be candid! Does it make a difference or not?
One is woven by fellow country-men, the other by foreigners,
One is the produce of an enemy, the other of a friend.

خواهی که اساس وهم برباد شود
آئین خدا ساخت بنیاد شود
اول باید عقیده آزاد شود

تا مرد ز جان خویش ایمن گردد
هر مذهب و مسلکی مبرهن گردد
تا آنکه حقایق همه روشن گردد^۱

If thou wishest that the basis of folly be destroyed,
(And) God's law be firmly established,
First, let there be freedom of thought,
So that man may be confident of the security of his life,
(And) each religion and mode of thought may be based on proofs,
So that all truths may be elucidated.

Āyatī claims to have invented² a verse-form, which he named *Sulāṣī*

The *Sulāṣī*.

¹ *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 19; *Sukhan*, ii, 46.

² هنوزم یاد است که اوین تلائی خود مبتکر در ستاره ایران درج کرده از آن ببعد دیدم طرف توجه شده تلائیها ساختند و از تلائی گذشتند مثلث آوردن و سه گوشه اختروع کردند و هلّم جرا. — (*Namakdān*, i, p. 422).

(triplets). It consists of three hemistichs, all having the same rhyme, a a a. This form, he asserts, became popular among the poets who subsequently invented the *Musallaṣ* and *Sih-gūsha*, i.e., triangular or three-cornered. The following *Šulāsi* of Āyatī is quoted as a specimen:

یار بدت ایکاش بدی همچو سراب
او نیست سراب و هست چون آتش و آب
کت باع بسوزد و کند خانه خراب^۱

O that thy bad companion were like unto a mirage !
He is not a mirage, he is like fire and water,
That burn thy garden and devastate thy home.

To sum up this section of the chapter, we come to the conclusion that :—

1. These forms look like modification of the classical models.
2. Only a few poets have so far made innovations.
3. Few modified forms have up to now been produced.
4. These have failed to become popular.
5. The movement, though now it lacks vitality, does not seem to have exhausted its possibilities.

¹ *Namakdān*, i. 115.

(b) NEW VERSE-FORMS PRODUCED
UNDER EUROPEAN INFLUENCE

Poets influenced by European forms. A considerable number of Iranian poets, mostly of inferior rank, are endeavouring to introduce the European system of rhyme into their poetry. They may be classified under the following heads :—

- (i) Those who have been influenced by Western verse-forms through their studies of European literature, either in Europe or in Īrān, *viz.*, Ahmādī, Hūsām-zāda Dihkhudā, Sūratgar, Farhang, Qulzum, Lāhūtī, Nīmā and others.
- (ii) Those who are exponents of the Classical verse-forms but have occasionally imitated European models by way of diversion; *viz.*, Bahār, Ḥabīb, Kamālī and others.
- (iii) Those who, in their zeal to modernize the existing forms, adopt these models; *viz.*, Āzād, Raihān, Sarmad, Hamīdī, Naubakht and others.

Course of development.

Dihkhudā is probably the first poet who sought to introduce European verse-forms into Persian. After the bombardment of the *Majlis* (Tūp-bandī-yi Majlis) on June 23, 1908 and the reactionary triumph, he escaped to Europe. On January 23, 1909, he restarted the *Sūr-i Isrāfīl* ("The Trumpet-call of Isrāfīl") at

Yverdon, where it had an ephemeral existence. In its third issue, dated March 8, 1909, Dihkhudā published a poem, which shows European influence in the arrangement of its rhyme. The poem is an elegy on Mīrzā Jahāngīr Khān, the editor of the *Sūr-i Isrāfil* of Tīhrān, who was executed in the Bāgh-i Shāh¹ on June 24, 1908, by the order of Muhammad 'Alī Shāh. The first stanza of the poem runs thus :

ای سر غ سحر چو این شب تار بگذاشت زمر سیاه کاری
 و ز نفتحه دوح بخش اسخار رفت از سر خفتگان خماری
 بگشود گره ز زلف زد تار محبوبه نیلگون عماری
 بزدان بکال شد نمودار و اهریمن زشت خو حصاری
 یاد آر ز شمع مرده یاد آد²

O bird of the morning, when this gloomy night puts aside its dark deeds,

And, at the life-giving breath of the Dawn, besotted slumber departs from the heads of those who sleep,

And the Loved One enthroned on the dark blue litter loosens the knots from her golden-threaded locks,

And God is manifested in perfection, while Ahriman of evil nature withdraws to his citadel,

Remember, O remember, that extinguished lamp !³

This poem consists of five stanzas, each of nine hemistichs. In each stanza, the first, third, fifth

¹ Royal Park outside the western gate of Tīhrān, where the Shāh had made his headquarters for the Coup d'Etat.

² For the complete poem ref. PPMP., pp. 201-204; *Sukhan*. i, 90-91; PPR., pp. 279-80; *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 29-30 and *Armaghān*, iii, 33-34.

³ PPMP., p. 203.

and seventh hemistichs rhyme together in one way, while the second, fourth, sixth and eighth rhyme together; in another, the refrains of all the strophes rhyming in the same way as the opening hemistich of the poem. The rhyme scheme may be represented thus :

a b a b a b a b a,
c d c d c d c d a,
e f e f e f e f a and so on.

This foreign pattern found several reproductions on the native soil. It was imitated by Raiḥān¹ and Kamālī². Vahīd³ has accepted the form with certain deviations which will be clear from the following formula :

a b a b a b a b a b x x,
c d c d c d c d c d y y,
e f e f e f e f e f z z and so on.

That is to say, Vahīd has increased the number of hemistichs to ten with alternate rhyming in each strophe. The couplets which form the refrains rhyme independently.

In 1911-12, Farhang left for Europe. His stay in Paris for four years as a teacher in the *Ecole des Langues Orientales* caused him to write a poem on "Mother Īrān" on a European model. It comprises eleven stanzas, each of six hemistichs. The first

¹ *Bāghcha-i Raiḥān*, pp. 6-9, 24-25 and 44-46, Tīhrān, A.H. 1338.

² *Armaghān*, i, 30-32, *Īrānshahr*, iii, 151-54.

³ *Armaghān*, i, 1-4; ix, 3-11.

stanza runs thus :

تابنده چو خورشید و فروزان چو ستاره
در صحنه پنهادر این چرخ محدب
ای آئینه شرق پدید از تو هماره
فرزند بلند اختر و مردان مهدب
از خلد برين خوبتری ای چمن عشق
گهواره علم و هنری ای وطن عشق^۱

(Thou art) resplendent like the Sun and bright as star

In the wide expanse of this convex firmament,
O mirror of the Orient ! from thee always sprang
High-starred sons and cultured men ;
Thou art lovelier than Paradise, O Garden of Love !
Thou art the cradle of art and science, O Home of Love.

The arrangement of rhymes in this poem, excepting in the stanzas 4 and 5, may be represented thus :

a b a b r r,
c d c d s s,
e f e f t t and so on.

In the stanzas 4 and 5, there is some deviation which will be clear from the following representation :

a b a p p p,
a b a p p p.

This pattern was also adopted by Ahmadi².

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 337.

² *Armaghān*, vi, 495-98; *Sukhan*. ii, 15-19; *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 91-95.

Asadu'llāh Ashtari¹, Ḥusām-zāda², Jūdī³ and Sarmad⁴.

Ja'far-i Khāmana'i of Tabrīz contributed a poem on *Zamistān* ("Winter") to the February issue of the monthly magazine *Dānishkada*⁵. The poem consists of ten tetrastichs that rhyme alternately as shown below:

a b a b,
c d c d,
e f e f and so on.

The first stanza of the poem is :

جمال طبیعت بفصل بهار
صفا بخش وزیاست شوخ و قشنگ
رونق چو دوشیزه گلعادار
زاداید ز دلهای پژمرده زنگ

The beauty of Nature in Spring,
Is pleasant, elegant, sprightly and lovely,
In grace 'tis like a rosy-cheeked damsel
Who removes the rust (of sadness) from withered hearts.

This verse-form became very popular among the poets and Bahār⁶, Ḥabib⁷, Ḥamidī⁸, Rashīd-i

¹ *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 124-26; *PPR.*, pp. 89-90, (two poems).

² *PPR.*, pp. 232-34; *Sukhan*, i, 71-73.

³ *Gulhā-yi Adab*, p. 131.

⁴ *Sukhan*, ii, 197-200.

⁵ *Dānish-kada*, pp. 559-61: Muḥammad Ziyā Hashtrūdī, *Muntakhabat-i Āṣār*, pp. 173-75, Ṭīhiyān, A.H. 1342.

⁶ *Nau-bahār*, No. 14 of the 13th year; *Muntakhabat*, pp. 109-110 and *Sukhan*, i, 369-71; *Nau-bahār*, No. 16 of the 13th year; *Muntakhabat*, pp. 158-59, (two poems).

⁷ *Kānūn-i Shū'aīā*, Nos. 36-40, vol. iii, p. 12.

⁸ *Mihr*, vol. vi, pp. 277 and 459-60.

Yāsimī¹, Sūratgar² and Qulzum³ have composed poems in it.

Nīmā of Māzandarān has evinced a keen interest in the composition of poems on European models. In the *Muntakhabat-i Āṣār* three of his poems, *Ay Shab*⁴ ("O Night"), *Mahbas*⁵ ("The Gaol") and *Afsāna*⁶ ("The Fable") have been selected as specimens of his composition. Another of his poems, *Khār-kan*⁷ ("The Thorn-digger"), has been included in the *Gulhā-yi Adab*.

The poem *Ay Shab* consists of eleven stanzas, each of six hemistichs, the rhyme scheme being :

a b c b d d,
c f g f h h and so on.

The stanzas of the *Mahbas* rhyme as follows :—

a a b a c c,
d d e d f f and so on.

The rhyme scheme of the stanzas of the poem *Afsāna* are of three kinds. Each stanza comprises five hemistichs. The variation will be clear from the representation given below :

a a b a c,
d e f e g and
h h h h i.

¹ *Āyanda*, ii. 80-81; *PPR.*, pp. 292-94 and *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 120-22.

² *Mehr*, ii, pp. 929-36, 1039-41 and 1145-47. *Sukhan*, ii, 265-70; *Zir-i Āsmān-i Bākhtar*, (three poems).

³ *Kānūn-i Shu'arā*, No. 29, vol. i, p. 7, *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 103-4; *Sukhan*, ii, 299.

⁴ *Muntakhabat*, pp. 60-62; *Nau-bahār*, No. 10, 13th year.

⁵ *Muntakhabat*, pp. 69-72.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 72-82.

⁷ *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 44-45.

The poem *Khār-kan* consists of seven stanzas, each of six hemistichs. Its rhyme scheme is :

a a b a c c,
d d e d f f and so on.

In 1925, the communist Lāhūtī introduced another innovation into Persian tetrastichs. He contributed a poem, entitled *Chaman-i Sūkhta* ("The Burnt Meadow"), to the *Āvāz-i Tājīk*¹. The poem which is an attack on the British domination of Egypt, consists of seven tetrastichs. In the arrangement of its rhymes it may compare with the quatrains of Tennyson's *In Memoriam*²; that is to say, the first hemistich rhymes with the fourth and the second with the third, as shown in the following representation :

a b b a,
c d d c,
e f f e and so on.

The first stanza of the poem is quoted below as an illustration :

ریشه‌های صنوبر و شمشاد
پر و بال زیادی از ببل

¹ A Communist paper in Persian published from Samarcand. It was started on the 15th August, 1924. 'Abdu'l-Qayyūm Qurbī was its first editor and later was replaced by Sayyid Rizā 'Alī-zāda.

² Cf. the following quatrain :

I passed beside the reverend walls
In which of old I wore the gown;
I roved at random thro' the town;
And saw the tumult of the halls.

بُر که خشک است بارگزار گل
پر که نیز جمع نمی شوند

Roots of fir and box trees,
Plenty of wings and feathers of phainopepla,
Three or four dry petals of roses,
Footprints of a few hunters.

Nau-bakht of Shurāz composed a poem under the heading *Taqqāt-i Jamshid u Bulbul* ("Persepolis and the Nightingale"), comprising six stanzas, each of seven hemistiches. So far as the number of hemistiches is concerned, it bears resemblance to the Rhyme-Royal¹ of English poetry. The rhyme scheme of the poem may be represented thus:

a b a b a b t,
c d c d c d t,
e f e f e f t and so on.

The first stanza of the poem is given below:

بلل به بارگل پنجه زید میگفت که عاقبت خزان است
امروز گل است و سایه پید فردانه گل ونه سایبان است
ابن کاخ بزرگ نفت جستید کویند که خانه کیان است
کردیده چنین خواه بکبار²

A nightingale to the blossoming Spring twittering
Said, "Autumn will follow at last."

¹ *Ājaz-i Tājik*, No. 41 dated June 21, 1925; *Safavid-Din 'Ayni, Namūna-i Adabīzār-i Tājik*, pp. 613-14, Samvatgārd, 1925; *Sultān* ii, pp. 311-12.

² Sunterbuty, *Manual of English Poetry*, p. 291, London, 1923.

³ *Gulhā-i Adab*, pp. 128-30.

"To-day there are the rose and the shade of the willow,
 "To-morrow neither the rose nor the shade shall be,
 "This lordly Palace of Persepolis
 "(Which) they say, was the dwelling-place of Kings,
 "Hath turned into ruins entirely.

Nūr-bakhsh of Isfahān, poetically surnamed Azād, a poet of lesser fame, has composed a poem *Daryācha*¹ ("The Lake") of thirty-seven triplets. It is a translation of the French poem *Le Lac* by Lamartine. The arrangement of rhyme is :

a a x,
 b b x,
 c c x and so on.

It differs from the English triplets only because the third hemistich does not rhyme with the first two. The first triplet of the Persian poem is cited as a specimen :

در این شب تار بی کرانه کشته حیات شد دوانه
 بر ساحل نازهای ز دریا

In this endless sombre night,
 The barque of life hath set sail
 Along a new shore of the sea.

Ja'far-i Khāmana'i of Tabrīz may be regarded as the first Iranian to have made an attempt at the composition of a sonnet. His poem *Bi Vātan*² ("To Mother Country") does not conform to either Italian or English models. Its deviation in the

¹ *Gulhā-yi Adab*, pp. 136-37.

² *PPMP*, p. 298.

arrangement of rhymes, both in its octave and sestet, will be clear from the following representation:

a b b a c d e d f g g h i i.

From the study of these verse-forms, it is easy to conclude that tetrasyllabic with an alternate rhyme-scheme are most popular with the poets. This may be due to the fact that Sa'di happens to have a tetrasyllabic of the kind in his *Gulistan*. On the same ground this verse-form may be considered to be of local origin, though the poets, perhaps in their desire to develop the well-known *rubā'i*, had European models before them. On the other hand, the tetrasyllabic of the form a b b a, has hardly appealed to the poets. The next in popularity is the sextain of the form a b a b r r, because among other forms of sextains, it makes the nearest approach to the Classical *musaddas* (six-some). The nine-line stanzas have also gained in popularity, probably because they are written mostly with alternate rhymes. The remaining forms, with only a solitary example of each, have definitely failed to produce any effect.

¹ Cf. the following tetrasyllabic contained in the preface:

اول از دی و پشت ما علی بلبل گوینده برو منابع غصیان
بر قل سریع از نور آفتاباد لای هرچو هرچ برعذار شاعر غصیان

The new urge and
change in themes.

VI

THEMES

Since the beginning of the movement for the Constitution, the poets of Īrān have dealt with themes that are widely different from those of the earlier poets. The modern poetry will, perhaps, fail to appeal much to those who are still devoted to such conventional forms as *qaṣīdas* (panegyrics) and such subjects as sweethearts, the garden, the wine, the tavern and the like. The new urge calling forth the poetic activities of the age is the desire to bring about the national regeneration of Īrān and restore her to her former power and glory. The glorification of her ancient kings, the praise of Zoroaster and his religion, the emancipation of women, the reformation of social institutions, manners and customs, the contemplation of important economic problems, the consideration of various moral virtues of men and women are all reflections emanating from one and the same source of inspiration. Nevertheless, we must not think that this new urge has dealt a death-blow to the classical themes or has fully succeeded in dispensing with them. The taste for the epic is manifest from the *Sälär-nāma* of Āqā

Khān-i Kirmānī, the Qaisar-nāma of Adib-i Pishāwari, the Shāhnāma of Nawbakht and the Pahlavī-nāma of Ja'far-i Sayyāh. Ghamām of Hamadān, Āzād, Shabāb, Shūrida and others have kept the ghazal well alive. The aged 'Ibrat is known for his mystical effusions. Qaṣidas, in the classical sense of the term, are rare owing to the dearth of patrons willing to change these products of imagination into solid tūmāns. The modern didactic themes, full of moralizing spirit, draw inspiration from the classical poetry of previous epochs.

New themes
classified.

The various new themes engaging the modern poets may be classified under the following principal heads and subdivisions :

1. *Political* :

- a) Vituperation of the Qājār dynasty
- b) Pan-Islāmism
- c) Communism
- d) Anti-Russian
- e) Pro-German
- f) Pro- and anti-British
- g) Pro- and anti-Turkish
- h) Pro- and anti-Rizā Shāh

2. *Patriotic* :

- a) Love for the 'motherland'
- b) Recollection of past glories
- c) Glorification of Zoroaster and his religion

The themes
chronologically set.

Again these themes, if studied according to their chronological growth and development, may fall within three distinct periods; viz.

- I. Period of consciousness and despondency (from March 8, 1890 to May 1, 1896 i.e., from the date of granting of the Tobacco Concession to the date of assassination of Nāṣir'ud-Dīn Shāh).

Themes :

Political and Patriotic.

- II. Period of struggle and hope (from May 2, 1896 to March 22, 1924, i.e., from the date on which Muzaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh was proclaimed King to that of deposition of Ahmad Shāh).

Themes :

Political, Patriotic and National.

- III. Period of renaissance and victory (from March 22, 1924 to the present day).

Themes :

Political, Patriotic, National,
Economic, Educational, Social
and Ethical.

We shall now deal with some of these themes in the following order :—

1. As against stereotyped and degenerate themes.

Iranian youths¹. So they are striving to get rid of artificiality, insincerity, monotony and exaggeration. Themes like musky ringlets, dreamy eyes, rosy cheeks and ruby lips no longer charm them. They are keenly interested in such topics as may accelerate the development of the social, economic, educational and political conditions of their country.

Furāt in his poem *Junūn-i Shā'irī* ("The Madness of Poesy"), severely criticizes his contemporaries who employ vulgar and forced similes and metaphors in their compositions :

دم از عشق و اسرار آن تا بکی	در این عشقها هیچ اسرار نیست
مگو تُنگ شکر بعلش دگر	ازین شیوه جانا که بیزار نیست
میانش بمو، مو به مار سیاه	مده نسبت اینها سزاوار نیست
چه نسبت به پستان او نار را	ازین استعداد را عاد نیست
دخ و زلف را دوز و شب تا بکی	کنی وصف حاجت بتکرار نیست ²

How long shall we vainly talk of love and its mysteries?

There is no mystery in this (sort of) love;

Liken not her ruby (lips) to a bag of sugar any more,

O dear ! who is not disgusted with this style ?

Compare not her waist to a hair and her hair to a black serpent ; it is not proper ;

What semblance bears the pomegranate to her breast ?

Artn't thou ashamed of this metaphor ?

How long wilt thou describe the face and the tresses as day and night ? There's no need of repetition.

¹ Nāzimū'l-Islām of Kirmān, *Ta'rīkh-i Bidāri-yi Irāniyān* ("History of the Awakening of the Iranians"). Introductory volume, p. 242.

² PPR., pp. 507-8.

Furāt regrets elsewhere to find the same classical words and ideas repeated by the contemporary poets in their compositions. He only wishes he could revive the poetry of the land and bring back its lost spirit. He says :

در شعر و غزل هر چه نظر میکنم این دور
الفاظ و معانی شده تکرار و دکر هیچ
باید که فرات از پی احیای سخن بود
چون کلبی مازده ز اشعار و دکر هیچ^۱

'As oft as I look into the poetry and *ghazals* of this period, (I find that) words and ideas have only been repeated and nothing else ;

It behoves Furāt to devote himself to the revival of poesy, as only a form of poesy is left behind and nothing else.

In the following verse, Qulzum advises his colleagues to show originality in their compositions :

حرفی که نگفته اند میباید گفت
دُری که نه سُفت‌هاند میباید سفت^۲

The word they haven't uttered should be spoken, the pearl they haven't bored should be pierced.

The youthful Sarmad is more emphatic when he urges :

سرمهد برغیم انجمن رسم غزل هم تازه کن
چون اوستادان سخن خود را بلند آوازه کن^۳

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 290.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 299.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 198.

O Sarmad ! contrary to Society, renew the style of
the *ghazal* too ;
Like unto the Masters of Poetry make thyself highly
reputed.

Vindicating an open departure of modern poetry
from the traditional course, Sarmad says :

سخن گوی باشد زبان زمان که حال زمان را شود ترجمان
زمان را کسی ترجمانی کند که با منطقش هم زبانی کند
کهنه هرچه شد ناروا میشود و گر نونه گردد فنا میشود
کهنه تا نگردی نو آموز باش بهر دوز دانای آزو ز باش^۱

A poet should be the tongue of the age so that he may
be an interpreter of the conditions of his time ;
That person alone can interpret Time who converses
in its speech ;
Whatever grows old becomes unfit and perishes if not
renewed ;
That thou mayest not get antiquated, be a learner of
new things ; every day be the wise man of that day.

2. POETRY AS REFLECTING THE STAGES OF POLITICAL EVOLUTION

Poets' interest in the events of the country. In earlier periods, Persian poets used to keep themselves aloof from national events and were unruffled by wars, invasions and revolts. One cannot imagine a more striking contrast to this than the mental attitude of the contemporary poets who are indeed the sons of

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, 206.

their epoch, and who take interest and participate in such events. We shall review the turning points in the history of Irān since the beginning of the century and show how the poets echoed the different crises and the part played by them in inspiring their countrymen with a spirit of vitality, educating their minds and implanting in them the love of liberty and independence.

Absolutism of the
Qājārs.

The age-long absolutism of the Qājārs and the high-handedness of their ministers, though tolerated, had already offended the minds and moral sense of the Iranians. They were roused up to fury when the later monarchs of the dynasty continued to grant innumerable concessions¹ to foreign countries in consideration for heavy loans incurred to gratify their extravagant and wicked indulgences. They paid no heed to industrial activities, manufacture, commerce, sanitation, education and other possible developments of the country. The Iranians held the Qājārs responsible for all their misfortunes and the stagnation and degradation that prevailed throughout the country. Āqā Khān of Kirmān has depicted the deplorable condition of Irān during the reign of Nāshiru'd-Dīn Shāh in these words:

مگر حال آن ملک بر گشته است

مه جای اهریمنان گشته است

¹ For a complete list of concessions refer to W. Litten's *Persien von der "pénétration pacifique" zum Protektorat, 1860-1919*, Berlin, 1920.

مَكْرُ جُود و بِيَادِ افْزُون شَدَه
 جَگَّهَایِ مَرْدَم هَهِ خُون شَدَه
 مَكْرُ شَهْ كَداَكَشَت و كَشُورِ خَرَاب
 دَعْيَتْ فَزْ جَوْرَنَد درْ بَيْعَ و تَاب^۱

Is it not that the condition of the country is upside down and that the whole country has become a place of demons?

Is it not that tyranny and lawlessness have increased and that the people are in misery?

Is it not that the King has become a beggar, the country desolate and the subjects are in distress from oppression?

Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh visited Europe three times² and thereby impoverished the coffers of the State:

خَزِينَهْ تَهْيَى كَشَت و مَلَتْ كَدَائِي
 زَ بِيَادِ او دَسْتَهَا برْ خَدَائِي
 سَهْ نُوبَتْ شَتَابِيد سَوَى فَرنَگ
 نِيفَزُود او دَلْ عَارِ و نَنَگ^۳

Being always engaged in hunting excursions and merry-makings he failed in his administrative duties:

چَوْنَسَتْ شَكَارِ است و مَحْوَرُ خُوشِي
 كَجا دَانَد آئِينِ لِشَكَرِ كَشَي^۴

¹ Nāṣimū'l-İslām, Ta'rīkh-i Bidāri-yi İrāniyān, Introductory volume, p. 244.

² First in 1873, second in 1878 and third in 1889.

³ Ta'rīkh-i Bidāri-yi İrāniyān, Introductory volume, pp. 254-55.

⁴ Ibid., p. 255.

After Nāṣiru'd-Dīn
Shāh was assassi-
nated.

Nāṣiru'd-Dīn Shāh was shot dead while visiting the shrine of Shāh 'Abdu'l-'Azīz¹ on Friday, May 1, 1895, by Mīrzā Muḥammad Rīzī of Kirmān².

Muẓaffaru'd-Dīn Shāh ascended the throne³ and was joyously acclaimed in the panegyrics of poets like Amīrī, Khusravī and Ashraf⁴. No less than his predecessor, he also began to negotiate heavy loans for his lavish European tours⁵, as a result of which the Customs came under the Russian control, as Ja'far-i Sayyāh says retrospectively :

ظفر ز روسها ستانید وام

وزان وام افتاد گمرک بدام

Aminu's-Sultān who negotiated the Russian loans, was scathingly criticized in a "jelly-graphed" paper by Fakhrū'l-Wā'izīn of Kāshān in a *ghazal* which begins thus :

ارمنی زاده: بیازار سلامانارا

بکف کفر مده سلطنت ایمارا⁶

¹ Situated about seven miles to the south of Tīhrān.

² He was hanged on August 12, 1896 after a trial. For the full procedure and cross-examination refer to *Sūr-i Isrāfil*, No. 9, pp. 3-8; No. 10, pp. 1-8; No. 11, pp. 3-5; No. 13, pp. 5-6 and No. 17, pp. 5-7.

³ Born March 25, 1853, crowned June 8, 1896 and died January 4, 1907.

⁴ Vide *Dirān-i Amīrī*, pp. 167-68, *Dirān-i Khusravī*, pp. 62-64 and *Jild-i Durru'm-i Nasīm-i Shimlī*, pp. 80-81.

⁵ First tour in 1900 and second in 1902.

⁶ *Pahlavī-nāma*, p. 46, Tīhrān, A.H. 1313 (Solar)/A.D. 1934-35.

⁷ Because his grandfather was a Georgian from the Caucasus.

⁸ *Ta'rīkh-i Bidārī-yi Irāniyān*, ii, 236.

Demands for the dismissal of ministers¹, the establishment of a House of Justice ("'Adalat-Khāna") and the granting of a Constitution were made and open agitation was set afoot. The Shāh finally had to yield. On Saturday, October, 6, 1906, when the first National Assembly was opened, Adibū'l-Mamālik Amīrī wrote a masterly *qasīda* congratulating the Assembly and praising the Shāh for granting the new Constitution from which so much was expected. The *qasīda* opens thus:

شاد باش ای مجلسِ ولی که به عقرِ اب
از تو آید در زمینه را درین دوران طبیعت
شکراند داد که بخشود و فویی خایل
حسر و عادل و حُسْن کرد و متنی کثیف

Well done, O National Assembly! for I see that shortly a physician will come out of thee to cure the present malady of the nation;

The just King hath bestowed it upon the abject Nation, the equitable Sovereign has taken pity upon a handful of hapless creatures.

After Muzaffaru'd-Din Shāh died January 8, 1907, and was succeeded by his son Muhammad 'Ali Shāh² who soon gave the

¹ 'Avnū'd-Dawla and 'Alā'u'd-Dawla.

² Dihgār Amīrī, pp. 53-55.

³ Amīrī has two poems, each containing the chronograms of the accession of Muhammad 'Ali Shāh to the throne, which took place in A.H. 1324. The dates of the composition of the poems are not known. But

Constitutionalists cause to suspect his ulterior motives. The tension between the Court and the Parliament grew more and more acute. On August 31, 1907, 'Abbās Āqā of Tabrīz, a member of a secret terrorist party, assassinated Amīnu's-Sultān and shot himself while resisting arrest. On October 6, 1907, celebrations were held at his grave on the fortieth day of his death ("Chihilum") and Fakhru'l-Wā'izīn wrote for the occasion a poem of which the first verse is:

ای مزارِ محترم هر چند بزمِ ماتمی
نیک از بن نو گل که خفت اند رتو شاد و خرمی^۱

O Venerable Sepulchre! tho' thou art (a place of) mourning assembly,

Yet thou art quite happy and mirthful because of that new flower which is resting in thee.

On the day Amīnu's-Sultān was assassinated, the Anglo-Russian Agreement was signed at St. Petersburg. This evoked indignation of many poets like

from the attitude taken, it is clear that one was composed at the time of accession and the other when the Shāh had already become unpopular. The last verse of each poem, with the chronogrammatical portion bracketed, is quoted below. It is interesting to note the difference of attitude in both:

که سالِ جلوسِ همايونش آمد (خداوندِ قانون مأحمد علی شد)

—(*Divān-i Amīrī*, p. 470.)

گشت سالِ جلوسِ او بسریر (ای شهید بد بخت)

—(*Divān-i Amīrī*, p. 111.)

¹ Browne's *Persian Revolution*, pp. 153-54, Cambridge, 1910.

Adib¹ of Nīshāpūr, Ḥraj² and Bahār³ who strongly resented it. The first and last verses of Ḥraj's *qīṭ'a* are:

گویند که انگلیس با روس عهدی بسته است تازه امسال
از صلح میان گربه و موش برباد دود دکان بدل

They say that Britain has made this year a new Treaty with Russia :

The grocer's shop will be despoiled owing to the agreement between the mice and the cat.

Bahār addressed a *qaṣīda* to Sir Edward Grey in which he pointed out to him that the Anglo-Russian Agreement was a diplomatic error of the first magnitude as it removed the barrier that had so long stood on Russia's road to India. The *qaṣīda* begins thus :

سوی لندن کذر ای پاک زیب سحری
سخنی از من بر کو به سر ادوارد گری

Hasten to London, O Pure Zephyr of dawn!
Deliver a message of mine to Sir Edward Grey.

The Shāh attempted a *coup d'état* on December 15, 1907, but failed. Ashraf referred to this event in two *mustazād* poems, written in his usual pessimistic strain. The opening verses read :

کردید وطن غرنثه ازدوه و محن وای ایوای وطن وای
خیزید روید از نی تابوت و کفن وای ایوای وطن وای⁴

¹ *Sukhan* i. 11

² *Ibid.* p. 11. footnote 2.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 360-64; also *PPMP.*, pp. 253-55.

⁴ *Nasim-i Shimāl*. No. 9, dated January 2, 1908; *Bāgh-i Bihšti*, pp. 194-95; *PPMP.*, pp. 183-84.

Alas ! the Country is submerged in grief and affliction,
 Alas ! Alas ! O Mother Country !
 Ah, rise and arrange for the bier and shroud,
 Alas ! Alas ! O Mother Country.

دوش میگفت این سخن دیوانه بی باز خواست درد ایران بیدواست
 عاقلی گفتا که از دیوانه بشنو حرف راست درد ایران بیدواست^۱

Last night a lunatic uttered this unquestioned : "Irān's malady is incurable";

A wise man said, "Hear these true words from a lunatic : Irān's malady is incurable."

On June 23, 1908, the *Majlis* was bombarded and the despotic rule of the *Shāh* was re-established. Mīrzā Jahāngīr *Khān Sūr*, Hājj Maliku'l-Mutakallimīn and other prominent leaders were put to death. These actions caused indignation to many poets like Amīrī², Bahār³, Pūr-i Dāvūd⁴ and Dihkhudā⁵.

In a poem written at Beirut on June 28, 1908, Pūr-i Dāvūd with bitterness pronounced :

شامِ عم باز نودار شد افسوس افسوس
 دلم از ظلمت آن تار شد افسوس افسوس
 مست پارینه که از باده کشی تو به نمود
 باز در خانه خمار شد افسوس افسوس

¹ *Nasīm-i Shimāl*, No. 10, dated January 20, 1908; *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 197-98; *Sukhan*, i, 149-50; *PPMP*, pp. 185-86.

² *Divān-i Amīrī*, pp. 84-85, 86-89, 181-82, 300, 301-302, 320-21 and 683-84.

³ *Sukhan*, i, 378-81.

⁴ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh*, p. 23.

⁵ *Sūr-i Isrāfil*, No. 3, dated Yverdon, March 8, 1909; *Armaghān*, i, No. 3, pp. 33-34; *Sukhan*, i, 90-91; *PPMP*, pp. 201-202; *Hablu'l-Matin*, dated November 11, 1912.

Alas! Alas! the eve of sorrow has appeared again,
 Alas! Alas! my mind is befogged with its obscurity;
 Alas! Alas! the old drunkard who had vowed abstinence,
 has entered the tavern again.

When the Constitutionalists of Tabriz began to fight under the leadership of Sattār Khān Sardār-i Millī, Ashraf prayed for their success:

مُلَّتْ تَبَرِيزْ خَدَا يَارْتَانْ
 دَسْتْ خَدَائِيْ كَكْ كَارْتَانْ
 رِيشَةَ ظَالِمٍ زَ شَهَا كَنْدَهْ شَدْ نَامْ شَهَا باَقِيْ وَ پَایِنْدَهْ شَدْ
 دِينْ مَدْ زَ شَهَا زَنْدَهْ شَدْ اَحْمَدْ مُخْتَارْ نَگْهَدَارْتَانْ
 مُلَّتْ تَبَرِيزْ خَدَا يَارْتَانْ
 دَسْتْ خَدَائِيْ كَكْ كَارْتَانْ
 حَضْرَتْ سَتَارْ بِرْغَمْ حَسْوَدْ سَتَرْ عَيْوَبْ اَزْ هَمْ اِيرَانْ نَمُودْ
 پَشْهَ اَكْرَ حَلَهْ نَمَادِدْ چَهْ سَوَدْ صَرَصَرْ عَادْ اَسْتْ جَلَوْدَارْتَانْ^۱

O people of Tabriz! may God be your defender,
 May the Divine Hand help your undertaking!
 The tyrant has been torn up by the roots by you,
 Your name has become durable and immortal,
 The Faith of Muḥammad has been enlivened by you;
 May the chosen Aḥmad be your guardian!
 O people of Tabriz! may God be your defender,
 May the Divine Hand help your undertaking!
 Belying the wishes of the envious, the Hon'ble Sattār
 Redeemed the honour of Īrān,

^۱ *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 210.

If gnats attack, 'tis of no avail,
 (As) the boisterous wind of 'Ād¹ is under your
 command.

Insurrections broke out all over the country. On January 5, 1909, Șamșāmu's-Saltana and Zarghāmu's-Saltana with the help of Bakhtiyārī tribesmen seized Isfahān. Ashraf congratulated them in a poem, the first verse of which reads :

اصفهانا کشته ماوی شیران آفرین
 کرده بنیاد ویران آفرین²

Bravo, O Isfahān ! thou hast become a lair of lions.
 Bravo ! thou hast destroyed the foundation of
 despotism.

On February 8, 1909, the Nationalists seized Rasht and were joined by the *Sipahdār-i A'zam* who was in command of the Royalist troops at the siege of Tabriz. The *Sipahdār* was warmly congratulated in the following words :

روشن و تابندہ باد نام سپهبدار باقی و پاینده باد نام سپهبدار
 هم بفلک ثبت در جراید عرشی هم بزمین زنده باد نام سپهبدار³

Distinguished and illustrious be the name of the *Sipahdār*, enduring and lasting be the name of the *Sipahdār*;

In heaven, too, may his name be recorded in celestial
 tome and even on earth the name of the *Sipahdār*
 be everlasting.

The Nationalist forces, assisted by the *Bakhti-*

¹ An ancient people of South Arabia who were destroyed by a violent blast of wind. Vide Qur'ān : lxix, 6.

² *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 211.

³ *Nasīm-i Shimāl*, No. 27, dated March 5, 1909 also PPMP., p. 206.

yants entered Tehran on July 13, 1909, unopposed by the Cossacks. The Shah fled to the Russian Legation at Zemtzaud. On July 16, 1909, he was deposed and his twelve-year-old son Ahmad Mirzā was proclaimed Shah with 'Azodul-Mulk as Regent. This "National Victory" (*Fath-i Milli*) and the termination of the "Lover Autocracy" (*Istibdād-i Shāhī*) were rejoiced over by many poets. Bahār wrote a spirited poem which begins thus:

می ده که ملی خد عوران همان
تسویه آن داشت

Give wine, for the self-consuming period has ended, the country is in tranquillity; 'tis the kingdom of God!

After the revolution¹ Now revolutionary repressions² began and among several others³ Shaykh Fazlullāh Nuri, the reactionary priest, was executed⁴. Ashraf, Amārī and Bahār wrote poems

¹ Ashraf wrote a poem on the flight of the Shah, the last in a series of which are quoted below. It may be remarked that the word *gāz* with its bracketed equivalent in parentheses gives the date of this flight.

آن‌گو اسمر در دنیا و سریو گسته مسکنی و نیزهار شده
حستور از طبع امیری گزینو گفت الله ملت سچهدار شده

—Browne A.M.L. p. 472

² *India News*, No. 1, dated August 24, 1909, PPMP, p. 218-21.

³ Such as Muhibbullah-Mulk, the former head of the Tehran Police, Ajdaribachi under whose command the Mosque was bombarded and Sāfi Hazzat who had taken a prominent part in the abortive coup d'état of December, 1907.

⁴ On the gallows, before he was executed, he is said to have recited this couplet:

اگر بارگران بودیم رفتیم اگر نامهربان بودیم رفتیم

—Browne's Persian Revolution, p. 411.

expressing their satisfaction. The opening verse of Amīrī's poem describes Shaykh Nūrī as a thick-necked *Muftī*, peril to honour and embezzler of other's property :

شیخ نوری مفتی کردن کلفت

آفت غیرت بلای مال مفت^۱

A few days after the restoration of the Majlis, the notorious brigand, Rahīm Khān Chalabiyānlū, raised the standard of rebellion in Āzārbāyjān, but after a defeat on January 24, 1910, he escaped to Russia. Russia gave asylum to the rebel. Lāhūtī who is at present in the USSR, expressed his resentment thus :

تفو بغیرت آن ب حقوق بی ناموس

که بعد ازین همه رشتی پناه برد جروس^۲

Fie on the sense of shame of that infamous outlaw who after all these misdeeds took shelter in Russia.

On September 9, 1909, the ex-Shāh left Tīhrān for Odessa. Munīr of 'Ishqābād wrote a sarcastic poem under the title :

”خواب پریشان محمد علی میرزا اوین شب زندگانی در اویدیسای

”روسیه

(The distracted dream of Muḥammad 'Ali Mīrzā, during the first night of his arrival at Odessa in Russia).

Some of the verses of the poem read :

¹ *Dīvān-i Amīrī*, p. 112.

² *Irān-i Naw*, No. 129, dated February 9, 1910; also *PPMP.*, p. 228.

خوابی بینه که کوچه شاه ایران خواز
در میان باقی خود در بخش و عصیانم خواز^۱

I am dreaming that I am still the Shah of Iran and inside my garden am still engaged in violence and sins.

The renewal of the Fishery Concession (شیلات) to the Russian Lyanozoff incensed Aśīf who wrote a poem entitled *Qūqūlāli* (Cock-a-doodle-do!). The verse having a reference to the concessionnaire is cited below:

در ازی امروز سخنی صوف است
خواری لیانزو ف بسر باعی صوف است^۲

There is a dreadful talk at Enzeli to-day, Lyanozoff's claims are to the hake (fish).

Russia obstructed the Iranians at every step in their attempt to set their house in order and hampered the work of the American financial experts under Mr. W. Morgan Shuster who came to Iran in May, 1911, finally obtaining his dismissal. In a pathetic taṣnīf entitled *Yā Marg yā Istiqāl* ("Either Death or Independence"), 'Ārif urged his countrymen to keep Mr. Shuster back, as will appear from the following:

که دود شوستر از ایران شود ایران برباد (حیبیم)
ایران را مکذا دید که ایران بود (برود)^۳

¹ *Iran-i Naw*, No. 91, dated December 16, 1919; also PPMP., p. 230.

² PPMP., p. 230.

³ *Dīrān-i 'Ārif*, p. 20 (Taṣnīf Section); *Sulḥat*, p. 203 and PPMP., p. 251.

Should Shuster go away from Irān, Irān will be ruined,
O Young Men! let not Irān go away.

In August 1911, the ex-Shāh, in an attempt to regain the throne was defeated at Firūzkūh. This event has found an echo in a *mustazād* poem by Ashraf who says :

مَدْلِي تَكِيه بِقُول وَ غَزْلِ نَامُوسْ نَمُود^۱

"Mamdali" (i.e. Muḥammad 'Alī) relied upon the promises and false hopes of Russia; he lost his dignity.

On March 29, 1912, the shrine of the eighth Imām, 'Alī ar-Riżā at Mashhad, was bombarded by the Russians. Many poets shuddered at the news. Ashraf² in his poem *Yā gharība'l-Ghurabā* writes :

در هزار و سیصد و سی شد نشانِ توبِ کین

مرقد شاه خراسان آن امام هشتادین^۳

In 1330 the sepulchre of the eighth Imām, the Lord of Khurāsān, became the target of spiteful cannon.

During the coronation of Ahmād Shāh, Pūr-i Dāvūd gave expression to his feelings in a poem referring to the Turkoman origin of the Qājārs and

¹ PPMP., pp. 247-48; *Nasīm-i Shimāl*, third year, No. 12, dated September 11, 1911.

² On the fall of Czarist régime in March, 1917, Ashraf wrote another poem reminding Nicholas II (1868-1918) of the Russian bombardment of the Sanctuary of the Īmām. The refrain of each strophe is:

بَا آلِ عَلَى هُرَكَه در افتاد بِر افتاد

—*Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 246.

³ *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 34-35.

castigating him as an alien :

امد بیگانه است گرچه شده شه
نیست ز بیگانه جز سیاهی و تاری^۱

Aḥmad is an alien, although he has become a king,
from a foreigner you can expect nothing but sorrow
and despair.

When the Great War broke out in 1914 and
military operations spread over the territory of
neutral Irān, Ašraf pathetically exclaimed :

چه خوش بود این جنگ و دعوا نمیشد
بروی زمین شود و غوغای نمیشد^۲

How happy would it have been, had there been no war
and no hostility, no tumult and affright on earth !

Also the poetess Niṁtāj Khānum of Salmās who
lost her father and other relatives during the mas-
sacres at Urūmiyya, Salmās and Rasht, expressed her
grief in a poem which begins as :

ای اینان که فر کیان آرزو کنند
باید نخست کاوه خود جستجو کنند^۳

The Iranians, who aspire after the Kayānian glory,
should first find out their (leader like) Kāva.

The poets, in some sense or other, were interested
in foreign struggles. Sālār of Shīrāz exhorted his
countrymen to join the British :

اتحاد با آلان بزر ما زیان دارد
سود پاشد ارگردی دوست با بریطانی^۴

^۱ Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh, p. 39.

^۲ Sukhan, i, 38-39, footnote., PPR., pp. 638-39.

^۳ Sukhan, i, 144.

^۴ Bāgh-i Bihisht, pp. 71-72.

Friendship with Germany is detrimental to us, it will be beneficial if thou wilt be friendly to Britain.

The opposite opinion was expressed by Vahid-i Dastgardi who wrote a *musamma* poem in praise of the Germans and derogatory to the Allies. The poem begins thus :

منفجر کشت چو نارنجک حراق اروپ
صلحرا کنگره بشکست و پواکند کلوب¹

When the incendiary bombs of Europe burst forth, peace congresses and clubs broke into pieces.

Adib-i Pishawari composed a long *maṣnawi*, entitled "Qaisarnāma", in praise of the Kaiser and in condemnation of England.

A far-reaching Anglo-Persian Treaty was concluded in 1919 by Vuṣūqu'd-Dawla who became the target of severe comments. 'Ishqī² criticizing him in an allegorical poem, says :

دل بس ز کردار آن خواجه سوخت
که ما را بنام غلامی فروخت³

I was much terrified at the behaviour of the Master who sold us as slaves.

Furrukhī, too, wrote a *ghazal*⁴ and a *qaṣīda*⁵ denouncing the action of Vuṣūq.

In February 1921, a new cabinet was formed by Sayyid Ziyā'u'd-Dīn Ṭabāṭabā'ī, the editor of the

¹ Vahid-i Dastgardi, *Rah-Āvard*, pp. 12-22, Tīhrān, A.H. 1307 (Solar).

² He has three other poems opposing the Anglo-Persian Treaty, see his *Divān*, pp. 108-15.

³ *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 156-57, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar).

⁴ *Sukhan*. i, p. 316.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 316-17.

Ra'd. It was during his premiership that the Anglo-Persian Convention was repudiated and the well-known Russo-Persian Treaty was signed at Moscow on February 26, 1921, which was most favourably commented on by several poets, as may be seen from these anonymous lines:

شد دموکرات از زبانها دور فرقه بالشویک نمود ظهر

گاونزدا الاغ گاز گرفت انگلیسی ده حیجاز گرفت¹

Sayyid Ziyā'u'd-Dīn soon became unpopular and had to resign on April 3, 1921. This failure was variously commented upon. Furāt records it in the following lines:

سیدی شد و اسب بخت سوار
و اندرین جلگه چند دوزی تاخت
چون سواری نکرده بود او را
اسپ در حین تاختن انداخت²

My Sayyid mounted the steed of fortune and rode for some days on this plain;
As he had never tried (the horse), it threw him down while running.

On the other hand, 'Ārif expressed a wish that Ziyā'u'd-Dīn should come back, in a song composed to the *Shūr* tune, which begins thus:

ای دست حق پشت و پناخت باز آ
چشم آرزومند نگافت باز آ³

¹ *Gul-i Zard*, 3rd year, No. 10, dated Muḥarram 5, 1340.

² *Sukhan*, i, 287.

³ *Dīvān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 58-61 (Taṣnif Section); *Sukhan*, i, 209.

O thou whom God's hand backs and shields ! come back, O thou whom our eyes are longing to see ! come back.

When the Qājār dynasty fell, Pūr-i Dāvūd composed a *musammaṭ* poem, which begins thus :

از پیک نوید آمد هان گوش فرا دار
کامد شه ایران شد از تخت نگونساد
اور زنگ شهی پاک شد از دیو تبه کار
وز راهزن و ترکمن دوده قاجار^۱

Happy tidings have come by messenger, hear attentively that Aḥmad Shāh has been dethroned ;

The Royal throne has been purged clean of the malicious demon, the scion of the lawless Turkoman Qājārs.

‘Ārif further voiced his condemnation of the dynasty in a song² composed to the tune *Bayāt-i Turk*, which he sang in a concert given on March 11, 1924, at Ṭihrān. It begins thus :

رحم ای خدای دادگر کردی نکردی
ابقا باعقاب تجز کردی نکردی^۳

O just God ! Did You show mercy ? No, You didn't. Did You spare the descendants of the Qājārs ? No, You didn't.

Appearance of Rizā Shāh.

Rizā Shāh was crowned King on April 25, 1926. He was admired as

¹ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh*, pp. 86-88.

² It was this song that lost ‘Ārif the friendship of Īraj Mīrzā and elicited from his pen the ‘Ārif-nāma, vehemently attacking ‘Ārif. See p. 22 *Supra*.

³ *Divān-i ‘Ārif*, pp. 43-44 (Taṣnīf Section); *Sukhan*, i, 207.

a popular hero by several poets like Ashraf, Ra'dī, 'Atā, Nādirī, Dānish of Isfahān, Dānish of Tīhrān, Shu'ā, Qulzum and others. Qulzum praises him thus :

جسم بد از تو دور باد شها خوب خدمت به ملکت کردي
 باي بر مشکلات افشدري با موائع مبارزت کردي
 با ملوك الطوائف ايران تا آخر مقاومت کردي
 هر چه کردي بنفع ملت و ملك از ده لطف و معذلت کردي¹

Avaunt malicious glances from thee, O King ! thou didst good service to the Country ;

Thou didst put thy feet firmly on difficulties and didst fight against hindrances ;

Thou didst resist feudalism in Irān till the last ;

Whatever thou didst, thou didst for the benefit of the nation and country with kindness and justice.

How the poets found their inspiration even in matters more diplomatic, will be understood from the following humorous lines of Rūhānī, in which he has refuted the British opinion regarding Bahrein :

انگلیس جسورد در دنیا گفته بحرین مال ایران نیست
 و آنکه گوید ز انگلستان است صاحب علم و عقل و وجدان نیست²

Britain, the most impudent on earth, said that Bahrein did not belong to Irān ;

Anyone who holds that it belongs to England, has no knowledge, sense and conscience.

Freedom of speech like the freedom of the Press has experienced considerable restriction under the

¹ *Haftād Mawj*, p. 25, Berlin, 1929; *Sukhan*, ii, 294.

² *Sukhan*, i, 133.

present régime which, though nominally constitutional, is in fact dictatorial. 'Ishqī once criticized the government of Rizā Shāh in his *Qarn-i Bistūm* ("The Twentieth Century"), and was found murdered. Farrukhī heard of his assassination and in his deep grief extemporized the following short poem, the last verse of which contains the chronogram giving the date of 'Ishqī's martyrdom. The words *Dīv-i Muhīb* ("The dreadful Demon") in the poem allude, it is said, to the Shāh. The poem runs thus:

دیو مهیب خود سری چون ز غصب گرفت دم
امنیت از محیط ما رخت به بست و گشت کم
حربه وحشت و ترور کشت چه میرزاده را
سال شهادتش بخوان عشقی قرن پیستم¹

Ever since the dreadful and ferocious demon has raised its tail, security has left the country bag and baggage, and has vanished;

When the weapon of terror and barbarity killed 'Ishqī, read the date of his martyrdom as "Ishqī of the Twentieth Century".

Bahār, too, on account of his democratic views, would have met the same fate, but he redeemed his opinions by presenting to the Shāh four *qaṣīdas* known as *Chahār Khitāba*² ("The Four Addresses"). Some verses, selected from here and there, offering his apology may be quoted below :

¹ *Divān-i Farrukhī*, p. 118, Tīhrān, A.H. 1320 (Solar); *Sukhan*, i, 226; *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 5.

² Published at Tīhrān on the Nawrūz of A.H. 1305 (Solar).

شاه شدی کوت شاهی بوش چشم ز تکیل و تباعی بوش
 دشمنی شده بگسی در خود است کش خویش با دشمنی در سر است
 قدرت و حمایه تو شدم ز دزمن کنم ام شود از من و صد همچو من
 بندم خطاوی نعموتم و گر کر شاه ام ای شاه ز من در گذر^۱

Thou hast become a king, put on the Royal robe, think
 not of punishment and destruction:

Animosity of the king is justified with a man who
 aspires after the throne;

O King! thy power and grandeur will not be dimi-
 nished by me and a hundred like me;

I have done no wrong and if I have, O King! forgive
 me.

The present régime is decidedly unfavourable to the expression of any individual views on the politics of the country. Poets or writers dare not criticize the Shāh or his government². On the contrary, commendations of the Shāh and the Crown Prince or their actions, whether justifiable or not, may bring satisfaction and security to the panegyrist. In the circumstances, the poets will have to relapse into panegyrics, while the attention of many of them has already been diverted to pure lyricism or more utilitarian poetry.

3. PAN-ISLAMISM

Modern Pan-Islamism with its anti-Western tendencies dates from the seventies of the last century, when the integrity of the Muslim States was

¹ *Chahar Khāṭaba*, pp. 3, 5 and 20.

² It may be remarked that to-day there is not a single Persian news-
 paper in which any space for a leading article is reserved.

jeopardized by European powers. So far as Irān is concerned, this movement affected her but little, due to her traditional nationalistic feelings, religious schism, rivalry with Turkey and, above all, her political and moral decadence. Yet there are some Persian poets, who in their stirring poems, have appealed to their co-religionists for urgent solidarity against Western domination.

In A.H. 1313 (A.D. 1895-96), Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Husayn of Bardasīr, better known as Mīrzā Āqā Khān-i Kirmānī¹, a disciple of Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn Asadābādī, while in prison at Trebizonde, composed a long poem entitled *Nāma-i Bāstān*² in imitation of the *Shāhnāma*. This poem contains a scathing condemnation of Nāshiru'd-Dīn Shāh and an eulogistic tribute to the late Sultān 'Abdu'l-Hamīd of Turkey. There are also many verses in the poem which reflect the whole-hearted support of the poet. Some of the verses are quoted below :

هی خواستم تا که اسلامیان بوحدت بینند یکسر میان
 همه دوستی باهم افزون کنند زدل کین دیونه بیرون کنند
 مر اسلامیان را فزاید شرف تفاق و جدائی شود بر طرف
 در اسلام آید بفر حمید یکی اتحاد سیاسی پلید³

I always wished that the Muslims might with one accord gird up their loins in unity,

¹ For his biography refer to the *Ta'rikh-i Bidāri-yi Irāniyān*, pp. 6-13. (introductory volume) and Browne's *Persian Revolution*, p. 409, Cambridge, 1910.

² Also called *Sālār-nāma*.

³ *Ta'rikh-i Bidāri-yi Irāniyān*, p. 256 (introductory volume); *Ājanda*, ii, 917; Browne's *Persian Revolution*, p. 410.

In A.H. 1339 (A.D. 1920-21) Vahid-i Dastgardi published a poem in his *Armaghān* under the caption "جَمَائِهُ اتْحَادِ اسْلَامٍ" ("A qaṣīda on Islamic Unity"). In the poem he expresses his deep sorrow at the general decadence of the Muslim world, approves the views of Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn regarding the Pan-Islamic movement and ends the poem with the praises of Ahmad Shāh and Amānu'llāh, the ex-King of Afghānistān. His appreciation of the Pan-Islamic movement is reflected in the following verses :

بَقِيرٌ آخِرِينَ خُوشِ كَفْتَهَ آنِ دَاشُورِ اَوْلَ
جَلَلِ مَلَّتِ اِيرَانَ جَمَالِ الدِّينِ اَفْغَانِي
كَهْ اَيِ اِسْلَامِيَانَ اَزِ دُورَ تَأْزِيدِيكَ وَ كَهْ تَاهِ
تَادِ وَ تَرَكِ وَ تَازِيِ پَارَسِ اَفْغَانِ هَنْدِ وَ سُودَانِي
فَرِوْ شُونِيدِ اَزِ دَلِ يَكْسِرَهَ زَنِگِ تَفَاقِ وَ كَينِ
كَهْ مِيزَايدِ هَلَّاكِ تَقْسِ زَانِ اَغْرِاضِ تَفَسَانِی^۱

In the last century well spake that premier savant, the glorious one of the Iranian nation, Jamālu'd-Dīn Afghāni,

"O Muslims ! from far and near, young and old, Tartars, Turks, Arabs, Iranians, Afghans, Indians and Sudanese,

Clear amain the rust of enmity and rancour from your hearts, as annihilation of the soul follows from these selfish motives.

In similar manner many other poets² expressed

¹ *Armaghān*, i, No. 5, p. 31.

² See *Dīvān-i Adib-i Pishdūri*, pp. 136-155, Tīhrān, A.H. 1312 (Solar) and Dihqān's *Hadiya-i Sharq*, *Mashhad* A.H. 1300 (Solar); *Shaykhu'r-Ra'is-i Qājār*, poetically surnamed *Hayrat*, wrote a prose work entitled "*I'ttihād-u'l-Islām*" ("Union of Islam").

their deep sorrow at the general decadence and stagnation of the Muslims throughout the world and have voiced their appeals through their stirring verses for unity and solidarity against foreign aggression.

4. SOCIALISTIC VIEWS

On February 26, 1921, a Soviet-Persian Treaty was signed in Moscow, and in the same year, Farrukhī of Yazd¹ started a communistic paper "*Tūfān*" ("The Tempest") in which articles and poems reflecting socialistic views appeared regularly. Besides this, Persian periodicals² and publications³ from the USSR began to find their way into the country. The propagation of these socialistic ideas was condemned as it was not only repugnant to the religion and custom of the country but in conflict with the new autocratic State born in *Irān* by that time. Their staunch adherents fled to the USSR perhaps never to see their mother country again.

The most enthusiastic amongst the poets with socialistic tendencies is, no doubt, Lāhūtī of Kirmānshāh who at present is working in the USSR⁴. Two of his socialistic poems, '*Kirimil*'⁵ ("Kremlin") and

¹ He was invited to Moscow on the tenth anniversary of the Soviet Republic.

² The *Ārāz-i Tājik* started at Samarqand in 1924 and the *Shu'la-i Inqilāb* started at Samarqand in 1919.

³ *Kirimil* by Lāhūtī, Moscow, 1923; *Akhgar-i Inqilāb* by Şadru'd-Din 'Aynī, Bukhārā, 1923; *Namūna-i Adabiyāt-i Tājik* by Şadru'd-Din 'Aynī, Samarqand, 1925 etc.

⁴ *Encycl. of Islām*, iii, 1065.

⁵ *Namūna-i Adabiyāt-i Tājik*, pp. 587-93, Samarqand, 1925.

*Inqilāb-i Surkh*¹ ("The Red Revolution"), may be regarded as his masterpieces. The first begins with :

تا چند کنی گریه برو سند نوشیروان؟

در قصر "کرمل" ایدل اسرار نهان بروخوان!

How long shalt thou shed tears over the throne of Nūshīrvān?

O Heart! read the secrets hidden in the Kremlin.

This poem, which comprises sixty-one verses, was first published in the form of a pamphlet entitled *Kirimil* at Moscow in 1923². It is a vehement attack directed against Imperialism.

The second poem '*Inqilāb-i Surkh*' which, in its matter and tone, is similar to the first, appeared for the first time in October, 1923, at Moscow in a Miscellany ("Majmū'a") published on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the foundation of the Soviet Republic. It consists of nine verses, two of which are being quoted below :

نوشم بشادمانی آندم شراب سرخ

کز شرق انقلاب دمد آفتاب سرخ

نازم آن زمان که به نیروی پتک و داس

دهقان نهد بگردن سلطان طناب سرخ³

¹ *Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājik*, pp. 593-94.

² *Ibid.*, p. 593.

³ Several Tājik poets like 'Abdu'r-Ra'ūf *Fitrat*, Mīrzā 'Abdu'l-Wāhid *Munazzim*, Aḥmad Jān *Ḩamdi*, Ḥabību'llāh *Awḥadī* and Ṣadru'd-Dīn 'Aynī composed poems in imitation of this poem.

—*Namūna-i Adabiyyāt-i Tājik*, pp. 593-98.

Blithely I'll drink Red Wine at the time the Red Sun
will effect a revolution in the East;

Proud I'll be at the moment when, with the triumph
of the "Hammer and Sickle", the peasant will lay
Red Ropes round the necks of kings.

In the following lines Farrukhī of Yazd longs
for a revolution, which will inaugurate a total
change:

در کن ایران ویران اقلابی تازه باید
سخت ازین سست مردم قتل ب اندازه باید
تا مگر از زرد روئی دخ بتایم ای حریفان
جمهوره ما را ز خون سرخ دشمن غازه باید¹

In old and devastated *Irān* a new revolution should
break out, there should be a terrible massacre of
these lethargic people;

May be, O rivals! that we will discard our bashfulness,
the crimson blood of the foe should be rouge for our
faces.

Another of Farrukhī's poem published in the
*Armaghān*² under the following heading contains
allusions to Red motives:

خانه ماست همان خانه که دارد در سرخ

The house that has a Red door is ours.

Sayyid Abu'l Qāsim *Zarra*³ and Sayyid 'Abdu'l-
Husayn *Hisābi*⁴, now in the USSR, are two other
poets who propagated strong socialistic views through

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 322.

² *Armaghān*, i, No 9, p. 11; *Dīrān-i Farrukhī*, p. 22.

³ *Dānish-kada*, p. 55; also *Sukhan*, ii, 182 f. n. 1.

⁴ *Sukhan*, ii, 182 f. n. 1.

their poetic compositions published in the '*Gul-i Zard*'.

Yahyá Raihān was imprisoned in the lunatic asylum for the highly socialistic articles published in his political paper '*Nawrūz*¹'. In one of his poems he has commended Lenin².

Habib-i Yaghmā'i, though not a socialist, has produced at least three poems in which communistic opinions have found expression. A verse from each is cited below :

ثروت آنکس که میباشد فزون باید گرفت
و آنکه کم از دیگران دارد فزون بایست کرد³

The wealth of the man who has more, should be taken away;

And that of those who have less than others should be increased.

مالک و دهقان غنی و بینوا شاه و گدا
محو باید گردد از دوی زمین این نامها⁴

The landlord and the peasant, the rich and the poor, the king and the beggar;

These names should be erased out from the face of the earth.

شاید که ضعیفان دا اوضاع شود بهتر
در گئی اکر مجری دستور لین باشد⁵

Perhaps the condition of the feeble will be better, if the principles of Lenin are followed throughout the earth.

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, 183.

² *Bāghchā-i Raihān*, pp. 38-42, Tīhrān, A.H. 1338,

³ *Sukhan*. i, 66.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 67.

⁵ *Ibid.*,

But these poems definitely failed to produce any effect on the Iranian mind. The twentieth century communism met the same fate in Īrān as communism in its early form introduced by Mazdak¹ during the reign of Kubād I (A.D. 487-98 and A.D. 501-31).

5. RECOLLECTION OF PAST GLORIES

The downfall of the Iranian nation prior to the advent of the present Shāh is well known. The ignominy the Iranians were put to always kept them alive to the lost magnificence and glory of ancient Īrān and her kings.

Amīrī in a song headed “*Surūd-i Millī*”² (“National Anthem”), visualizes Cyrus the Great, as being alive and asks the Zephyr to blow in the direction of Pasargadæ and implore Cyrus on their behalf to look after Īrān in her deplorable condition. The song comprises five strophes and begins with :

ز داه کرم ای نسیم سحرگه
سوی پارسا گرد بگذر اذ این ده
بسریوس از ما بگو کای شمشنده
چرا گشتی از حال این ملک غافل²

O Zephyr of the dawn! deign to pass towards
Pasargadæ by this way;

¹ A. Christensen's *Le règne du roi Kawādh I et le communisme Mazdakite*, Copenhagen, 1925.

² *Dīvān-i Amīrī*, pp. 682-83; *Sukhan*. ii, 61-63.

Unto Cyrus, on our behalf, speak, "O Sovereign !
why hast thou turned indifferent to the fate of
this country ?

On the Nawrūz of A.H. 1322 (21st March, 1904), Farrukhī of Yazd recited a *musammaṭ* at a meeting of the Independent Party of Yazd, in which he inveighed against the autocracy of the Government and expressed his indignation at the British and Russian domination over Īrān. At this, Zaighamu'd-Dawla, the then Governor of Yazd, was offended and under his orders the poet was put into prison and his lips were sewn¹. The lines that have references to the ancient monarchs and heroes of Īrān are as follows :

این همان ایران که میزگاه کیکاووس بود
خوابگاه داریوش و مامن سیروس بود
جای زال و دستم و گودرز و گیو و طوس بود
نی چنین پامال جور انگلیس و دوس بود²

Is this the same Īrān which was (once) the halting place of Kai-Kā'ūs,

The resting-place of Darius and the peaceful abode of Cyrus,

The land of Zāl, Rustam, Gūdarz, Giv and Tūs ?

Never was it so trampled upon as now by British and Russian oppression.

Ashraf of Gīlān has lamented over the past greatness and grandeur of Īrān in the following words :

¹ In 1930 when I was in Tīhrān, I noticed marks of the stitches still showing on his lips.

² *Divān-i Farrukhī*, p. 71; *Sukhan*, i, 314.

آنقدرست و شجاعت و جوش و خروش کو
شیرانِ جنگِ جوی پلنگینه بوش کو^۱

Where is that power, valour, enthusiasm or fervour?
Where the warlike lions well clad in panthers' skin?

Pūr-i Dāvūd in his poem "*Irāniyān! Irāniyān!*" composed on September 1, 1915, ardently reminds his countrymen of the past glories of *Irān*, the triumphs and achievements of her worthy monarchs. He passionately appeals further to them to rise up, unsheathe their swords and put their enemies to rout. A few verses of the poem are:

آرید یاد آن دوز را آن لشکر پیروز دا
بادی هم از شاهنشهان ایرانیان ایرانیان
جمشید و سام و زاب کو طهمودث و دارا بکو
کو ایوج از پیشینیان ایرانیان ایرانیان
کوردش چه شد کبوچ کو کو اردشیر و فرا او
کیخسرو آن شاه کیان ایرانیان ایرانیان^۲

Call to mind those (ancient) days and those victorious armies, bring to mind also your sovereigns, O Iranians! O Iranians!

Where are Jamshid, Sām and Zāb? Where Tahmūras and where Dārāb? Where Iraj of the Pishdādiyān? O Iranians! O Iranians!

What has become of Cyrus? Where is Cambyses? Where is Ardashir and where his pomp? Where is Kai-Khusrav, the Kayānian king? O Iranians! O Iranians!

¹ *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, pp. 55-56; *Sukhan*, i, 166.

² *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh*, p. 44 (Text).

‘Ārif¹, Baizā’ī², Husām-zāda³, Raihān⁴, Sūratgar⁵ and Masrūr⁶ are, among others, who have contributed poems with reference to the bygone glories of ancient Īrān, her magnificent monarchs and invincible warriors.

6. GLORIFICATION OF ZOROASTER AND HIS RELIGION

Religious intolerance and fanaticism are two things that are rapidly dying out in Īrān. The Iranians not only have genuine sympathy and good feeling for all Zoroastrians whom they look upon as members of the same race and blood but have also begun to proclaim their regard and affection for the religion of their remote ancestors. Poets, too, are proudly singing the glories of Zarathushtra and his religion.

In 1918 Dānish of Isfahān composed a poem of thirty-seven verses in praise of Zoroaster. In the same year the poem was published in the form of a booklet at Istānbūl with the title *Kunjkāvī dar Zartusht*. The booklet also contains a short critical biography of Zoroaster by him. A major portion of the poem has been included in the second volume

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 214; *Divān-i ‘Ārif*, p. 35 (Song Section).

² *Sukhan*. ii, 77.

³ *Ibid.*, i, 73-76.

⁴ *Bāghcha-i Raihān*, p. 8.

⁵ *Sukhan*. ii, 264-65; *Naw Bahār*, No. 27, p. 474, A.H. 1341.

⁶ *Sukhan*. ii, 332-33.

of the *Sukhanvarān-i Irān*¹. We should quote only the closing verse in which he represents himself as the Ḥassān of Zoroaster as against Ḥassān b. Ṣābit, the panegyrist of the Prophet Muhammad :

شنیدستم که ختم انبیا را بود حسانی
کنون در کیش یزدانی منم حسان زرتشتی²

I've heard that the last of the prophets had a Ḥassān,
Now in the *Yazdānī* faith I'm the Zoroastrian Ḥassān.

On the 20th June, 1920, while in Berlin, Pūr-i Dāvūd who has translated into Persian the *Gāthās*, *Yashts*, *Khordeh Arestā* and *Yasnā*, composed a poem entitled *Amashaspandān*³ comprising 174 verses. In this long poem the poet has described how the seraphic messenger appeared to Zoroaster in a vision and led his soul in a trance to the glorious presence of *Ahura Mazda* and the six *Amesha Spentas* who instructed him in the cardinal doctrines of the Religion⁴. Then, after speaking of the glories and decadence of *Irān*, he closes the poem with a prayer to *Ahura Mazda* for his mercy and grace. The opening verse is :

یکی باهدادان فرو شد سروش
به زرتشت اسپنهان زد خروش

¹ *Sukhan*. ii. 121-24.

² *Kunjkārī dar Zartusht*, p. 13. İstānbūl, 1918 : *Sukhan*. ii. 124.

³ *Pouran-Dokht-Nāmeh*. pp. 68-75, also *PPR.*, pp. 236-40.

⁴ For a detailed description see A. V. W. Jackson's *Zoroaster*, pp. 36-42. London, 1899.

One morn the Seraph came down to Zarathushtra
Spitama (and) exclaimed.

Pūr-i Dāvūd has often referred to Zoroaster and his religion in other poems too. These compositions show the profound respect and sympathy he cherishes at heart for the Zoroastrian faith.

Ma'ānī of Shīrāz pays his tribute to Zoroaster in the following words :

جان من بادا فدای زرد هشت بنده ام در خاک پای زرد هشت
آنکه عالم را منور کرده است نیست جز نور صفائ زرد هشت¹

May my life be sacrificed for Zoroaster, I am a slave sitting in the dust at Zoroaster's feet ;

That which has enlightened the world is nothing save the bright effulgence of Zoroaster.

Even coming to a lower sphere, 'Ishqī's operetta *Rastākhīz*² is another example of the re-awakening of interest all over Īrān in her ancient glory, ancient kings, ancient religion and her great Prophet Zarathushtra³. Towards the end of the poem the soul of Zarathushtra has been invoked with all humility and reverence thus :

ای پیغمبر آسمانی — زرد هشت

تو بر ایران و ایرانی ؟ پیک نهانی زرد هشت .

دست ما بد امانِ پاک تو — حقیقت یندان ؟

سر پیوزش نهیم بر خالکِ تو — سعادت ایران⁴ .

¹ *Dūr-Numā-yi Īrān*, May number, 1929, Bombay.

² *Dīvān-i 'Ishqī*, pp. 21-30; *PPR.*, pp. 464-83.

³ *Rastākhīz* translated by I. J. S. Taraporewala, p. 2, Calcutta 1925.

⁴ *Dīvān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 28; *Sukhan*, i, 254.

O Heavenly Prophet Zoroaster !

Thou art a hidden messenger for Īrān and the Iranians,
O Zoroaster !

Thee we implore, O Truth of God !

We bow our heads down in apology at thy feet,
O Bliss of Īrān !

Farrukh of Khurāsān commends Zoroaster thus :

زردشت که نور را خدا میدانست
ز آتش همه چیز را بیا میدانست
امروزش بخار و برق ثابت کردند
کان زهیر پارسی بجا میدانست¹

Zoroaster considered Light to be God ; he held that every thing emanated from Fire ;

To-day steam and electricity have proved that the Iranian Prophet was right.

In similar manner Zandukht Khānum of Shirāz², sometime editress of the monthly Dukhtarān-i Īrān, ("The Daughters of Iran"), Masrūr³ and many others have sung in praise of Zoroaster.

7. PATRIOTISM

After an age-long slumber the Iranians have regained their national soul. To-day waves of patriotism are running high throughout the length and breadth of Īrān. Modern poets do not get tired of writing poems on patriotism.

Of the different poets who have contributed

¹ *Iran League Quarterly*. ii, July, 1932, p. 63 (Persian Section).

² *Ibid.*, pp. 61-63 (Persian Section).

³ *Mehr*, i, 550.

poems on this theme, 'Ārif stands most prominent, though Adib-i Pishāwari gave the lead with the following charming lines contained in his *Qaiṣar-nāma*. Here "Mother Irān" addresses her sons thus:

تو ای بودیده بخون دلم چگونه ز مهر تو دل بگسلم

نداری ز بن هدیع پاسِ مردا فراموش کردی سپاسِ مردا^۱

O, thou (who wast) nurtured on my heart's blood, how
can I shatter my heart by divorcing my love for thee?

Thou hast absolutely no regard for me, thou hast for-
gotten the gratitude due to me.

'Ārif has produced many poems and songs (*taṣnīfs*) which echo his strong patriotic sentiment. The poems *Āzarbāyjān*², '*Ishq-i Āzar Abādagān*'³ ("Love for Āzarbāyjān"), '*Ālī-jān*'⁴, *Yād-i Vātan*⁵ ("Thoughts of the Motherland"), *Saltanat-i Husn*⁶ ("The Sovereignty of Beauty") and the songs, *Charkh-i Kaj-raftār*⁷ ("The Crooked Sky"), *Fārsī Gūy*⁸ ("Speak Persian") may be considered to be his master-pieces impregnated with the fervour of patriotism. In the poem *Love for Āzarbāyjān*, he declares:

ز استخوان نیا گان پاک ما این خاک

عجین شده است و مقدس تر از همه چیز است⁹

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 5; also *PPR.*, p. 7.

² *PPR.*, pp. 408-409.

³ *Ibid.*, 413-14.

⁴ *Divān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 260-66; *Sukhan*. i, 200-201.

⁵ *Divān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 184-85; *Sukhan*. i, 195.

⁶ *Divān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 193-94; *PPR.*, p. 424.

⁷ *Divān-i 'Ārif* (Taṣnīf Section), pp. 14-15; *Sukhan*. i, 202-203; *PPR.*, pp. 418-19.

⁸ *PPR.*, pp. 410-11.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

With the bones of our sacred ancestors, this soil has been kneaded and so 'tis holier than everything else.

Akhgar, the soldier-poet of modern Irān, has composed no less than five beautiful poems on *Mihr-i Vātan*¹ ("Love of the Mother Country"), *Sāhib-i Khāna Bāsh*² ("Be the Owner of the House"), *Vātan u Shāh*³ ("The Mother Country and King"), *Gham-i Irān*⁴ ("Love for Irān"), and *Vātan Farūshī*⁵ ("Traitor to One's Country"). In his *Love of the Mother Country*, he reveals his patriotism in a martial spirit thus :

مو حافظ سر هست و قشون حافظ کشور
دل را به قشون وطن آویخته دارم
در راه دفاع وطن باک ش و دوز
بر دوی عدو تیغ ب و آهیخته دارم⁶

The hair is the protector of the head and the army the protector of the country ; I keep my heart clinging to the army of the country.

In defence of the sacred soil, night and day, I keep my sword drawn against the face of the foe.

'Ishqī in his 'operetta' *Rastākhīz*⁷ ("The Resurrection"), which has attained great popularity⁸, has voiced the aspirations of modern Irān. The

¹ PPR., p. 60.

² Ibid., p. 61.

³ Ibid., p. 63.

⁴ Ibid., pp. 70-71.

⁵ Ibid., p. 74.

⁶ Ibid., p. 60.

⁷ *Dīvān-i Ishqī*, pp. 21-30, Tīhrān, A.H. 1308 (Solar).

⁸ Rendered into English by Dinshah J. Irani, v. PPR., pp. 464-83 and also by I. J. S. Taraporewala in Calcutta, 1925.

following lines are remarkably pathetic :

ای وای که ویرانه شد آن ملکت پر
کش دوی زمین کشود خون خواندی و شمشیر

به نیروی دیوان سهیل پیرق ایران

بد بلند در دوم و در چیز بر فراز قصر سلام بیت

این خرابه تبرستان نه ایران ماست!

این خرابه ایران نیست ایران بگامت؟^۱

Alas! that this ancient realm, which the world regarded as the land of chivalry and the sword, is ruined.

Through the valour of her mighty sons, the glorious banner of Iran.

Flew triumphant in Byzantium and China, over the palaces of kings.

This mouldering graveyard is not the Iran of ours,

This desolation is not Iran. O, where is Iran?

The poetess Nīmtāj Khānum of Salmās composed a spirited poem when the northern provinces of Persia were invaded by the Turks during the Great War. Her father and other relatives were killed in the raid. The following are the concluding verses that faithfully describe her patriotic sentiment :

آزادگی بدسته شمشیر بسته آن

مردانه هبشه تکله خود را بدو کشد

قانون خفت است که باید شود ذیل
هر ملّی که داشت و عیش خواکند¹

They have fastened Freedom to the hilt of the sword.
the heroes always rely upon it:

'Tis the law of nature that a nation must fall into
humiliation when it indulges in ease and luxury.

In short, many poets like Bahār,² Bādrū'z-Zamān³,
Husām-zāda⁴, Ashraf,⁵ Sayyid 'Alī Shāyigān⁶ and
Habib-i Yaghmā'i⁷ have produced charming poems
on the subject. The following lines from *Vāqā'at*⁸
(“Mother Country”) of 'Abdu'l-Azīm Khān Qarib
are certainly worth quoting:

ای وطن ای حب تو آئین من دوستیت کیش من و شنی من
دولت و اقبال تو پاینده باد نم بلندت بجهان زنده باد

S. WOMAN IN MODERN PERSIAN POETRY

Many of the characteristic features of Modern
Persian poetry are largely the result of the social,
cultural and political changes they reflect. It is
only natural then that a considerable portion of it is

¹ *Ayanda*, ii, 461.

² A Tribute to Sir Edward Grey (v. Browne's, *PPMP*, pp. 253-55; *Sukhan*, i, 360-64) and *Damāriandivā* (v. *Ayanda*, ii, 486-87; *Sukhan*, i, 364-66).

³ *The Irān of Yesterday and the Irān of To-morrow* (*Ayanda*, i, 598-600; *Sukhan*, i, 35-37).

⁴ His poem on *Pasargadæ* (*Sukhan*, i, 73-76).

⁵ Many poems in his *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, Tīhrān, A.H. 1338 and *Jild-i Durrum-i Nasim-i Shimil*, Bombay, 1346.

⁶ *Irānshahr*, iii, 588-89.

⁷ *Sukhan*, i, 65.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 223.

concerned to develop the new attitude towards women which constitutes one of the most important changes in modern Iranian life. It reflects the weakening of the grip of religious tradition which formerly stood against the participation of women in the struggle of the present age. Modern Persian poetry not only registers these changes but in itself is a mighty factor towards popularizing these new ideas.

Her changed position. Islām, no doubt, raised the position of women to a very great extent.

The Prophet of Islām secured to women rights which they had not otherwise possessed before. Thus their legal status was greatly elevated, but their social condition was not much ameliorated. In the lands of Islām, even until lately in Turkey and Irān, she has been treated with indifference and neglect. She has been deemed inferior to man in intelligence and character. This depreciation of women has been voiced by many classical poets like Firdausī¹, Asadi², Niẓāmī of Ganja³ and Jāmī⁴. Though there

¹ Compare:

زن و ازدها هر دو در خاک به
جهان پاک از این هر دو ناپاک به

² Cf.

زن نیک در خانه مار است و گنج زن بد چو دیو است و مار شکنخ

³ Niẓāmī says:

زن از پهلوی چپ گویند بدخاست
نیاید هرگز از چپ راستی راست

⁴ Cf. Jāmī.

زن از پهلوی چپ شد آفریده کس از چپ راستی هرگز ندیده

are exceptions¹, yet, on the whole, the poets of Irān have been uncharitable in their opinion about women. But modern poets have struck quite a different note to-day. They have urged their countrymen to elevate the social condition of women and to treat them better.

Ashraf of Gilān was, perhaps, the first poet who, in a poem entitled *Aḥrāl-i Zanān-i 'Arab*, urged his countrymen to pay due regard to women as enjoined by the Prophet of Islām. Some of the verses run as :

کفَتْ حُكْمُ اَنْفُسِكُمْ اَيْ كَرَامٍ بَايدَ اَزْنَهَا نَافِدٌ احْتَرَامٌ
زَنْ اَكْرَمٌ مُوْجُودٌ دَرِ عَالَمٍ نَبِوْدٌ دَرِ زَمَانَهُ يَكْ نَفْرٌ آدَمٌ نَبِوْدٌ
عَسْتَ جَذَّتْ زَرِّيْرَ بَأْيِيْ مَادِرَانَ جَانِ فَرَزَنْدَانَ فَدَائِيْيِيْ مَادِرَانَ²

He (the Prophet) said : O noble men ! this is the order of Allāh, that ye should pay respect to women ;

If woman were not in the world, there wouldn't have been a single man ever ;

Paradise is 'neath the feet of mothers³, let the lives of sons be sacrificed for mothers.

¹ Sa'dī has praised women who are good-natured, pious and obedient :

زَنْ خَوْبٌ وَ قَرْمَانْبَرُوْ پَارْسَا كَنْدَ مَرْدٌ دَرْوِيشٌ رَا پَادْشَا

And according to Maktabī of Shiraz a woman is a lasting wealth if she is pious and child-bearing :

زَنْ پَرْهِيزْكَارِ زَائِنَدَهَ مَرْدَ رَا دُولْتِيَسْتَ پَائِنَدَهَ

² *Bāgh-i Bihīght*, p. 300.

³ It refers to the tradition (احديث) :

اَلْجَنَّةُ تَحْتَ اَقْدَامِ الْمُهَاجَاتِ

Yahyá Raihān in the first issue of his *Gul-i Zard*¹ dated Sha'bān 27, 1336, (June 7, 1918), published the translation in verse of a French poem on "Mother"². This indeed excited the poetic zeal of Iraj Mirzā to compose two poems on the same subject. The first was published in the *Dānish-kada*³ dated June 22, 1918 and the second in the *Gul-i Zard*⁴ of July 21, 1918. The first poem which has gained considerable popularity⁵, begins thus:

کویند مرا چو زاد مادر پستان بدھن کرفتن آموخت
شبها بو گاھواره من بیدار نشست و خفت آموخت

¹ Issue No. 1, p. 2. The opening verses read:

که باشد کسر اوان کودکی دارد هما الفت
که ما را میدهد در عالم خفی طغولیت
همانا شیر شیرین را از آن پستان چون شکر
بود مادر بود مادر بود مادر بود مادر

² Just below this verse translation of Raihān there appears the following quatrain by Bahār in which he indicts mothers for the wrongs they do to their children:

که ما را یاد داد از کودکی کذب و دغل بازی
فنونِ ذردی و قلّاشی و حرص و حیل سازی
که طفلان را کند از کودکی محروم کور و کسر
بود مادر بود مادر بود مادر بود مادر

³ No. 3, p. 139.

⁴ No. 4, p. 2, the first verse is:

پسرا رو قدر مادر دان که دائم کشد رنج پسر بیچاره مادر

⁵ The late Prof. Browne has quoted this poem in the dedication of the fourth volume of the *Literary History of Persia* to his mother. It has also appeared in various journals viz., *Gul-i Zard*, No. 6, p. 2; *Irānshahr*, ii, 689; *Ayanda*, i, 666.

They say, when mother bore me, she taught me how
to suck her breast;
At nights by my cradle she sat awake (and) taught me
how to sleep.

Vahid has a poem under the heading *Zan u Mard* in which he has repudiated the idea of the inferiority of women to men. He says :

زنسٰت ادر در جهان ناپاک اژدر
پر از ماده اژدر اژدر ف^۱

If woman is an impure dragon in the world,
Then the male dragon is worse than the female one.

Afsar holds men responsible and accuses them for the backwardness of women in the following words :

دست چپت از داست ندارد کم و کاست
میکردد اگر . کار قوی بود چو راست
کسر زن نبود چو مرد تقصیر شهامت
از بھر زنان علم و هنر باید خواست^۲

Thy left hand is not inferior to the right ; had it worked,
it would have been as strong as the right ;

If woman is not like man, the fault is yours We should
demand education and art for women.

Her part in the
National Renais-
sance.

Despite the fact that the Prophet
of Islām made the acquisition
of knowledge incumbent on every
Muslim man and woman^۳, the cultural position of

¹ *Vide Armaghān*, ix, 74.

² *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 9; *Sukhan*, ii, 46.

³ The tradition referred to is :

العلم فريضة على كل مسلم و مسلمة

women has been deplorable throughout the Muslim world. The modern poets of Iran have played a successful part in making the people understand that female education is a question of vital importance for the advancement of their country. New social values of women have found expression in their poems.

Sayyid Ashrafzad-Din inspires the Iranian girls to wake up from their lethargy and advises them to acquire knowledge in the following verses:

در ز شبکی علم است ای دخترک چهار شو
 راند بلوع آدم است ای دخترک چهار شو
 * *
 اند او را سر شو در علم و تحصیل هر
 زن اهل است و آن است ای دخترک چهار شو

* *

Tis a day for universal joy, wake up, O little girl!
 'Tis an age for attaining perfection for humanity,
 wake up, O little girl!

In Europe, from one end to another, in knowledge and attainment of art

Women are superior and more advanced; wake up,
 O little girl!

Yahyá Dawlatabádi in his poem *Khijáb bi Bāmūrān* ("An address to ladies"), has elaborately discussed the necessity of female education. This poem is a *Tarjī-band* ("Return Tie") comprising seven strophes, each of eight distichs. Four verses

¹ *Rāgha Bākī*, p. 28.

O Girl, the mother of the new race ! O Girl, the cause
of the race to come !

Take example from the past and be a representative of
the future generation ;

Be thou a rose in the garden of knowledge and (thy)
sons warbling nightingales.

9. POLYGAMY

Modern poets of Īrān are fully aware that polygamy is opposed to the general progress of civilized society and culture. In Īrān this practice is looked upon with repugnance and, though its abolition is likely to affect the birth-rate, there is every reason to believe that, before long, this great social evil will be a thing of the past.

As to this burning question of polygamy, we have, first of all, the verdict of Afsar : One good wife is sufficient for a man. He maintains that polygamy is not really sanctioned in Islām. "It is true," says he, "that Islām allowed several wives¹, but it allows them with the stipulation that equal treatment shall be accorded to all the wives², which is practically an impossibility. Thus Islām rather restrains than encourages polygamy." He says :

یک زن خوب مرد را کافی است

بیش از این هم دگر نمی شاید

کسر خدا گفت با عدالت گفت

وان ز دست تو بونمی آید³

¹ Cf. Qur'ān, iv : 3.

² Ibid., iv : 128.

³ Sukhan. ii, 38-39; Pand-nāma-i Afsar, p. 7; PPR., p. 95.

One good wife is sufficient for a man, (to marry) more than one is not proper;

If God hath allowed it, He hath done so on condition of thy being equitable and it cannot be fulfilled by thee.

Pūr-i Dāvūd condemns polygamy as "the most grievous sin." In his poem written at Erlangen, on February 1, 1919, he describes the evils caused by it and emphatically pronounces that the present degraded condition of Irān is due largely to the polygamy practised by her sons. This poem comprises thirty-nine distichs, two of which, selected at random, read :

آنک دو زن را ز بھر خویش دوا دید
تریت قرن داست نائل و دشمن
یعنی از یک زن ز بھر مرد در این دوز
روح وطن داست دنج و درد و زلیفن^۱

He who permitted himself to take two wives, is a subverter of and an enemy to the culture of the age;

More than one wife for a man in these days bring harm, grief and woe to the spirit of the country.

Although an orthodox Shi'ite and sometime student of Islāmic Jurisprudence at Najaf, Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Dīn apprehended the evil effects of polygamy. In one of his poems, he expresses his candid opinion thus :

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 55; *Pourān-Dokht-Nāmeh*, p. 59.

دو زن در خانه آوردن خلاف است
زنان را از خود آزددن خلاف است^۱

To bring in two wives is wrong, unwise is to displease women with oneself.

Rūhānī is another contemporary poet, perhaps the most humorous of all, to draw a pathetic picture of the physical and mental condition of a man with two wives, which he does in two poems, one entitled *Sar-i Mard-i Du-Zana*² ("The Head of a Man with Two Wives") and the other *Tan-i Mard-i Du-Zana*³ ("The Body of a Man with Two Wives").

10. VEIL

The system of wearing the veil prevailed in Īrān till recently. When political consciousness dawned upon the minds of the people they could not shut their eyes to social evils which were detrimental to the progress of the country. The abolition of the veil which was enforced by an Imperial edict in 1936, was a bold step in the direction of social progress. To-day the removal of the veil is an accomplished fact. We shall now study the part played by the poets towards this end.

Īraj Mirzā, a scion of the Qājār dynasty, threw his weight on the side of the removal of the veil. He burst forth impatiently :

¹ *Bāgh-i Bihisht*, p. 286.

² *Sukhan*, i, 125; *Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūhānī*, p. 56.

³ *Sukhan*, i, 125-26; *Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūhānī*, p. 55.

خدا یا تاکی این مردان بخوابند
 زنان تاکی گرفتار حجابتند
 مگر زن در میان ما بشرنیست
 مگر در زن تمیز خیر و شر نیست^۱

O Lord! how long will the nation remain insensible,
 how long will women remain in the clutches of the
 veil?

Are women not human amongst us, or is there in
 women no power of distinction between good and
 evil?

The cause of the emancipation of women found
 an ardent supporter in the young poet 'Ishqī'. He
 concluded his famous poem *Kafan-i Siyāh* ("The
 Black Shroud") with the following stirring lines:

با من ار یک دو سه گوینده هم آواز شود
 کم کم این زمزمه در جامعه آغاز شود
 با همین زمزمه ها روی زنان باز شود
 زن کند جامه شرم آد و سرافراز شود
 لذت از زندگی جمعیت احراف شود
 و زنه تا زن به کفن سربورده نیمی از ملت ایران مرده^۲

If some two or three patriots raise their voices in unison
 with me,

Gradually this movement will be set afoot in the
 country,

¹ *Dīvān-i Irāj*, part ii, p. 12; *Sukhan*, i, 16.

² *Dīvān-i Ishqī*, p. 102; *Irān League Quarterly*, i, p. 205.

By their demand the faces of women will be unveiled,
Women will take off the disgraceful dress and will
become exalted,

Pleasure will be derived from the social life,
Else, so long as women hide their heads in this shroud
One half of the Iranian nation remains dead.

'Ishqī's cry was not a cry in the wilderness. It found support from many eminent poets.

The poet Pizhmān raised his voice against the veil and said that it was sanctioned neither by religion nor by law or wisdom, and if a body of women had the courage, they might easily tear away the veil. He says :

قانون و دین و عقل و تمدن باافق
قابل بدفع پیچه و بر رفع چادرند
آیا بود که دسته از پاکدامنار
همت کنند و پرده اوهام بر درند²

Law, religion, wisdom and civilization with one accord
justify the removal of pīcha³ and mantle;

Would that a group of chaste ones took courage and
tore asunder the veil of superstition.

In like manner Bahār³, Husām-zāda⁴, Zainu'l-Ābidin Hikmat poetically surnamed *Farih*⁵, Shah-

¹ *Sukhan*, ii, 102; also Pizhmān's *Bihtarīn Ash'ār*, p. 74.

² A substitute for the veil made of black horsehair about nine inches square in size, worn by Iranian women over the forehead to hide or expose their faces at will.

³ *Gulhāy-i Adab*, p. 19.

⁴ *Sukhan*, i, 76-77.

⁵ *Irānshahr*, ii, 660-65.

riyār¹, 'Ārif², Lāhūtī³ and others were not slow in joining the movement. They considered it regrettable that the fair sex should be secluded while the rest of the world was free. They exhorted women to cast away the veil from their faces.

11. SPEED AND TRANSPORT

One of the great changes of our time is the general acceleration of the rhythm of life. In its abstract form, this idea is perhaps inaccessible to expression in poetry, but the new means of rapid communication, such as railways, motor-cars and aeroplanes have greatly struck Iranian poets by their novelty⁴.

Rūhānī has a poem of fifteen verses in which he has given an enigmatic description of a bicycle (Du-Charkha) beginning thus:

مرکبی دارم و این طرنه که باشد خود رو
نه علف خواهد و نه یونجه و نه کاه و نه جو⁵

I've a vehicle and 'tis strange that it is self-moving, it requires no fodder, no hay, no grass and no barley.

Vahīd⁶, Husām-zāda⁷ and Nāzir-zāda have com-

¹ *Dirān-i Shahriyār*, Tīhrān, A.H. 1310 (Solar), pp. 29-30; *Sukhan*. ii, 256.

² *Dirān-i 'Ārif*, pp. 196-97, Berlin, 1924; *Gulhāy-i Adab*, p. 19; PPR., pp. 425-27.

³ *Sukhan*. ii, 314; *La'dliy-yi Lāhūtī*, p. 18, Istānbūl.

⁴ George Marr wrote an article on this subject, which was published in the *Mémoires du Comité des Orientalistes* V, pp. 221-34.

⁵ *Fukāhiyyāt-i Rūhānī*, p. 54; *Sukhan*. i, 127.

⁶ *Armaghān*, ix, p. 197; Marr's article, p. 233. Vahīd has another poem on Motor-car, *vide Armaghān*, vii, p. 35.

⁷ Marr's article, p. 231.

posed poems on the 'Motor-car' (*Khud-Raw*). Marr in his article on *Contemporary Means of Transport* has quoted the poems of Vahid and Husam-zada. The first verse of the poem *Automobile* (*Utumubil*) by Nazir-zada is given below as a specimen :

کوْدِم سَفَرْ بِاَصْرَكَبِي دَدْ دَهْ سَبُرْدَنْ بِي بَدَلْ
اسْبَانْ تَازِي اَزْ دَوْشْ مَانَدْ جَوْنْ خَرْ دَرْ وَحْلٌ¹

I journeyed by a conveyance, unique for travelling ;
The Arabian horses, compared to its speed, are like
asses (entangled) in a quagmire.

Badi'uz-Zamān Furūzānfar wrote a *qaṣīda*² entitled *Rāh-i Āhan* ("The Railway"). It was first published in the Āyanda and has also been incorporated in my *Sukhanvarān*. The portion of the *qaṣīda* which deals with the Railway begins with :

بَدِيدَمْ دُوْ خَطْ اَزْ آهَنْ كَشِيدَه
زْ دُوْ سُوْ رَاسَتْ چَوْنْ خَطَهَايِ مَسْطَرٌ³

I saw two lines of iron extending both ways as straight
as the lines drawn with a ruler.

Afsar knowing how the railways play an important part in the economic development of a country and in affording an easy communication between different countries and different parts of the same

¹ *Namakdān*, third year, No. 4, p. 64 and No. 5, pp. 12-13.

² In metre and style it is similar to the well-known *qaṣīda* of *Minūchihri* which opens thus :

شَبَىْ گَيْسَوْ فَرَوْ هَشْتَهْ بَدَامَنْ پِلاسْشِنْ مَعَاجِرْ وْ قَيْرَبِيشْ كَرْزَنْ

—v. Kazimirski's *Menoutchehri*, pp. ۸۳-۸۱.

³ *Āyanda*, i, pp. 26-27; Marr's art., pp. 224-25; *PPR.*, pp. 184-86; *Sukhan*, i, 33-34.

country, emphatically asks the Iranians to construct them :

ای ایرانی بره بانی تا کی ؟
 راه چو پل صراط کی گردد طی ؟
 گر خون نشود دوان تن افتاد از کار
 تروت خون است و راه آهن رگ و پی^۱

O Iranians! how long will you lag behind ? When will the road like the Bridge of Hell be traversed ?

If the blood be not in circulation, the body stops its work ; wealth is blood and the railways the veins and tendons.

The aeroplane (*Tayyāra*) has attracted the attention of several poets who have contributed a good many poems on it. Marr in his above mentioned article, has quoted three poems as specimens by three poets, viz., Muḥammad Hādī of Birjand, Abu'l-Qāsim Shahīdī and Muḥammad Kāzim-i Ṭihrāniyān. Vahid describes the aeroplane in the following words :

آن سایه‌نی بساط از علم شد گردون نورد
 غرفسون دیو و دد یا جادوی جن و پوی
 هان بین طیاره را ایدون که از نیروی علم
 زین به پشت باد بولسته چو ابر آزری^۲

Through science and not through the enchantment of demons and ghosts³ or the sorcery of genii and fairies this carpet of Solomon traverses the sky ;

¹ *Pand-nāma-i Afsar*, p. 22; *Sukhan*. ii, 46.

² *Armaghān*, vii, 34.

³ Literally, a beast of prey or wild beast.

Lo ! the aeroplane, now by the power of science hath saddled the back of the wind like the clouds of the month of Āzār¹.

The best poem on the aeroplane so far produced in Persian is the *qasīda* on "The Great War and the Aeroplane" by Adīb of Pishāwar. Full of classicism as the *qasīda* is, it is charming and reminds us of Qāānī. The opening verse reads :

روئینه شاعرها نگر با آتشین جنگالها
کستره از در باخت پر های کین و بالها²

Lo ! the brazen falcon with fiery talons, hath spread in the West the wings and feathers of rancour.

Vahid seems so far to be the only poet to have written a short stanza on the submarine (*Gharvāṣa*). It begins thus :

غواصه چون نیزگ دوئن تن
دربا نورد و صاعده جولانست³

The submarine, like unto a brazen-bodied crocodile, is the traverser of seas, quick as lightning.

Themes like these would seem too technical and matter-of-fact for poetry, but what appealed to the imagination was the spectacular character of the new contrivances which seemed to realize the dreams of old legends and fairy tales about King Kay-Qubād's aerial flight and King Solomon's magic carpet.

¹ Āzār is the Syrian name for the month of March and should not be confounded with Āzār, the 9th month of the Persian year.

² *Divān-i Adib-i Pishāwarī*, p. 8.

³ *Armaghān*, viii, 98.

VII

CONCLUSION

The end of classicism
and its later survival.

There may be some difference of opinion as to the time when the classical period of Persian poetry ended and the modern period began. Browne strongly refutes the view that Jāmī was the 'last great classical poet of Persia¹'. Some more radically-minded scholars close their list of classical poets with Ḥāfiẓ. But this much is certain that the long and brilliant rule of the Šafavids (A.D. 1502-1736) did not produce any great poet. On the other hand, the post-Šafavid period, in spite of its struggles and revolutions, was not devoid of talents². The earlier period of the Qājārs produced some first-rate technicians like Qā'ānī and Yaghmā who had nothing very original to say but maintained nevertheless the highest standards of traditional skill.

The late beginning
of Modern Persian
poetry.

The latter part of the nineteenth century was a period of literary revolution for the modern languages

¹ See his lecture on the *Literature of Persia* delivered on April 26, 1912, before the Persia Society of London (published for the Society by John Hoag, pp. 18-19); also his *Literary History of Persia*, iii, 435 and *PPMP.* (The Translator's Preface), p. xv.

² See the anthologies *Tazkiratu'l-Mu'āṣirin* (contained in the *Kulliyāt* lithographed at Cawnpore, A.D. 1893), *Rijāżu'sh-Shu'arā* (see Rieu's

of the East in general owing to the impact of Western arts and sciences. New movements were started in Turkish, Arabic, Urdu, Bengali and other modern languages and before long a considerable amount of poetic compositions, known as *Modern Poetry*, saturated with the spirit of the new age, came into being. Persian could not remain unaffected by the tendencies of the time, though its case was somewhat special. The changes in Īrān came rather late and were only of a preliminary character. Even now, new elements while being fully manifest in the language, still require some time before they can attain an appreciable degree of perfection.

In Turkish the modern period begins with Ziyā Pasha¹, Shināsī Effendi² and Nāmiq Kemāl Bey³. About this time Muḥammad Ḥusayn Āzād⁴ and Altāf Ḥusayn, poetically surnamed Hāli⁵, were engaged in starting a new movement in Urdu. The 'Modern Poetry' of Īrān hardly began before the twentieth century. It was born in the midst of political crises and so its major portion bears the trace of such an origin.

Causes of delay and
its consequences.

In comparison with Turkey and India, the progress of education in

Persian Catalogue, p. 651), Ātash-Kada (lithographed at Bombay, A.H. 1277) and Majma'u'l-Fuṣahā (lithographed at Ṭihrān, A.H. 1295).

¹ b. A.H. 1241/A.D. 1825-26.

² b. A.H. 1242/A.D. 1826-27.

³ b. A.H. 1257/A.D. 1841-42.

⁴ d. January 22, 1910.

⁵ b. A.D. 1837 and d. 1914.

Irān was rather slow and so new elements could not find a congenial atmosphere for a considerable time. On the other hand, classical tradition in Turkish and Urdu, however strong and manifest, had not yet reached maturity, when it was interrupted by the intrusion of new elements. On the contrary, Persian letters during the past millennium had attained very high stages of perfection and classicism, and this solid fortress could not be stormed by the Western influences without sufficient preparation. In this respect the parallel of Arabic poetry, supported by a long and solid tradition, is illuminating. The Arabs of the Mediterranean region had no less access to the West than Turkey and India, and yet their poetry long resisted all forces of westernization and, even when the latter came, the process of change was too slow. To-day amongst the numerous poets of Egypt, Syria and 'Irāq, there are but a few who have been successful in finding an adequate Arabic form for the moulding of new thoughts and ideas. Even in the best cases elegance and grace are not the usual companions of novelty. The case of Persian is very similar to what we find in the field of Arabic literature.

The natural consequences of the belated infiltration of modern elements into Persian are :

1. Persian has not reached the zenith of its new evolution.
2. The latest evolution may have been too hasty, as is best shown by the too easy

incorporation of loan-words, entitled only to an ephemeral existence.

*Characteristics of
Modern Persian
poetry.*

If from the question of standards, we now turn our attention to contents and forms, we must admit

that the new tendencies have revolutionized Persian poetry. This change is the result of the new order of things which has been brought into existence since the establishment of the Constitution and owes a good deal to the influence of Western arts and sciences.

The apostles of the modern movement have enlarged the sphere of poetry by introducing new themes into it. New fields of thought have been opened up. Society is confronted with new questions. The interests of life—political, social, religious, economic and scientific—have been enormously widened.

The new movement has liberated Persian poetry from the fetters of conventionalism and artificiality. There is now a clear departure from the beaten track of classical poetry and no return to the previous condition is imaginable. The main characteristics of modern Persian poetry may conveniently be summed up as follows:—

1. The ornate and artificial style has given place to a simple and natural diction ; words are made to follow thoughts and not thoughts to follow words.
2. There is a personal note in the poems and the poets seem to have more individuality.

3. Modern poetry shows considerable originality in themes which now cover wider fields of human interests.
4. There are poems of all kinds, reflective, descriptive, didactic, historical, political, patriotic and amatory.
5. Amatory poems are less common. Even if retained as a verse-form, the ghazals seldom sing of musky ringlets and downs on the cheeks of the beloved but, unlike their older prototypes, analyse and delineate the thoughts and feelings of men.
6. Nature, which formerly served only as a background of human interests, is now wooed for her own sake, with the result that Shab-i Mahtāb¹ ("A Moonlit Night"), Shihāb² ("A Shooting Star"), Akhbār-i Bāgh³ ("News from the Garden"), Subhānā-i Shā'ir⁴ ("The Poet's Breakfast"), Banafsha⁵ ("The Violet"), Yak Sitāra⁶ ("A Star"), Bahār⁷ ("Spring"), Khi-zāniyya⁸ ("Autumn"), Subh⁹ ("The Morn"), Shab¹⁰ ("The Night") and

¹ Sukhan. i, 82-83; ii, 15-19; PPR., pp. 97-98; Āyanda, i, 80-81.

² PPR., pp. 303-4.

³ Sukhan. i, 97-98.

⁴ PPR., pp. 289-90.

⁵ Sukhan. ii, 195-97.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 356-57.

⁷ PPR., pp. 284-85 and 649-50.

⁸ Sukhan. ii, 411-13.

⁹ PPR., p. 678.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 679-80.

the like form themes of poetry.

7. Less exclusively personal feelings have become conspicuous in poetry, which turns its attention to the life of the community in its political, social and economic aspects.
8. Thus there is no longer a complete rupture between the social conditions and earthly preoccupations of the poets and their soarings into abstract regions of Platonic love, the present bards being sons of their own time, expressing in poetry what agitates their souls, and many of them proving the sincerity of their strivings and convictions by personal sufferings, nay, by their blood.

Shortcomings of
modern poetry.

All, however, is not poetry because it is presented in verse and all is not prose because it is not put in verse. There are many poems that may be rightly termed versified prose, without any element of poetry in them. Consider, for instance, the quatrain entitled *Andarz*¹ ("An Advice") from the pen of so distinguished a poet as Shūrīda and note what a poor thing it is when compared with a quatrain of 'Umar Khayyām. The same holds true of Yahyá's *Andarz bi Javānān*² ("An Advice to Youths").

There are many poems that read as high-sounding moral sermons delivered from a pulpit. The poems

¹ *Sukhan*. i, 188; *PPR.*, p. 356.

² *PPR.*, p. 675.

entitled *Pāk Shau*¹ ("Be Pure") by Vahīd, *Mehr Jūy*² ("Be Kind") by Aurang, *Khidmat-i Khalq*³ ("Service to Humanity") by Akhgar, *Yak Zan bas ast*⁴ ("One wife is sufficient") by Afsar are palpably of this kind.

There are again several poems that read as fiery orations of Demosthenes in a crowded forum. Akhgar's *Vaṭan Furūshī*⁵ ("Traitor to One's Country"), Badi'u'z-Zamān's *Īrān-i Dīrūz—Īrān-i Fardā*⁶ ("Īrān of Yesterday and Īrān of To-morrow") and *Kūshish*⁷ ("Effort"), Husām-zāda's *Surūd-i Pisrān*⁸ ("A Song for Boy Scouts"), Dānish of Khurāsān's *Hadiyya bi Dukhtarān-i Imrūz u Mādarān i Fardā*⁹ ("A Gift to the Daughters of To-day who are mothers of To-morrow"), Bīniš's qaṣīda *Zīr-i bār-i Zulm na-bāyad raft*¹⁰ ("One must not submit to oppression") etc. are pieces that represent this class.

The poets are occasionally found to be on war-path, engaged in wordy fights. Thus engaged, their verses are full of invectives, and their language becomes at times repugnant and provocative. While they indulge in wrangling phrases, they seem to

¹ PPR., pp. 662-63

² Ibid., p. 116.

³ Ibid., p. 69.

⁴ *Sukhan*. ii, 38-39; PPR., p. 95

⁵ PPR., p. 74

⁶ *Sukhan*. i, 35-37; PPR., pp. 178-180.

⁷ *Sukhan* i, 37; PPR., p. 186

⁸ PPR., p. 230.

⁹ *Sukhan*. ii, 135-39.

¹⁰ Ibid., 82-86

descend at once from a sublime height to a low level of humanity. You may even agree to call it a poetic art, at least a usage-sanctioned practice serving to indicate that the poets who indulge in it are after all just human, or that they are sometimes just like children seeking to enjoy a good fun at the cost of the irritable amongst them. Īraj Mīrzā's '*Ārif-nāma*'¹ and '*Ishqī*'s satire² on Vahīd-i Dastagardī are the best specimens of this class of provocative poems.

Want of blank verse. No effort seems to have been made by the poets of Īrān in the direction of blank verse. Its introduction is long overdue. If started, it may evoke a new interest and create a diversion for those habituated to rhyme.

The song of the dawn. Modern Persian poetry is essentially the song of the dawn. If it also sings a song of the night, the night of which it sings is not a long and gloomy one. The night of which it speaks is but a short period of sleep and well earned rest after the day's joyful work, after a pleasant evening and a hearty dinner. Thus Yaḥyā holds the picture of the Night (*Shab*)³ and of the Morn (*Subh*)⁴ before the children of Īrān.

This optimistic note, the robust message of life and hope and the glimpses of brighter days ahead at

¹ *Divān-i Īraj*, pt. ii, pp. 4-52, Tīhrān, A.H. 1307 (Solar); *Sukhan*. i, 14-21.

² *Divān-i Ishqī*, pp. 178-82.

³ *PPR.*, pp. 679-80.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 678.

once differentiate the modern poetry from the earlier or classical. The romantic agony is here with occasional complaints against the world, life, society and existence. But the painful features of nature or of life are compared to the thorns of rose. If the thorn pricks the finger on account of wrong handling, it is no reason to find fault with the thorn or the garden in which the rose blooms. When Yahyá feels disappointed to find the thorn at the foot of every rose, Bahár, with his greater wisdom and more philosophic insight, writes this line as if to chastize one who takes such a wrong view of nature and of human life :

چنده کل اد خارش انگشت خست

کنه بر چنده است و خار نیست^۱

If a thorn pricks the finger of one who plucks the rose,
the fault is the plucker's and not of the thorn.

The mission of
poetry.

Modern poetry has indeed been identified with the entire life movement of the country, with continual endeavour to adapt itself to as well as to create and mould the whole environment, natural, social and cultural, for the progressive realization of the higher ends of existence as a free individual and as a free people.

Pizhmān has characteristically said that the soul of a poet, like a blooming bud, yearns to smile in the universe ; it gets happy at the joy of nature, as it

¹ PPR., p. 212.

is like the roses of the garden¹.

With Adīb of Pīshāwar poetry is like the cow of Moses² meant for raising the dead ones of one's country, like the breath of Jesus which stirs up the soul in a corpse³, like a lancet with sharp diamond edge to take out the cold and clotted blood from the sluggish vein, like Gabriel to blow into human body the breath of ardent sympathy and like a nurse gives milk to the child to develop its stature⁴.

Sarmad would require poetry to be the voice of the spirit of the age in which he lives⁵.

To Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Bahār, poetry is like the lute made by the hand of God on the Day of Creation. Its strings are made of the tresses of the *houris*. It is attuned with the light of Heaven. Its tune acts as a guide to those who go astray and its wailing is a help to the helpless. If properly handled, it increases love and lessens tyranny. Its sound is the voice of God, and whosoever listens to it, he listens to God. Many have desecrated it by playing improper tune for selfish ends. The wrong handling of it has only created chaos and confusion, contests and clashes. The right man to handle it properly and perfectly is one who can produce the eternal tune of universal love and peace to mankind. In other words, the

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, 100.

² *Vide Qur.* ii, 67-71.

³ *Qur.*, iii, 43; v, 109.

⁴ *PPR.*, pp. 13-14.

⁵ *Sukhan*. ii, 206.

mission of poetry is to convey the message of the great love revealing nothing but affection of the divine heart out of which God Almighty created all things and beings¹.

Message of modern poetry. There cannot be any greater message of poetry than what is sought to be conveyed through 'Ishqī's *Rastākhīz*. Righteousness is extolled as the highest principle of action. The duty of a rising and powerful nation should be to bring peace and happiness to the whole world and to see that none remains in bondage and all live freely their lives. The modern poets discover the permanent basis of human understanding, concord and happiness in the fundamental unity of all faiths, in the commonness of the object of worship, and in the oneness of the goal of all the higher human aspirations. The belief broadbased on the monotheistic conception of God can tolerate and unify the diverse modes of worship, of thinking and of action.

The doctrine of transcendence and immanence, monism and dualism, theism and atheism, pantheism and monotheism, materialism and spiritualism are all sought to be harmonized in Izādī's poem *Man Kiyyam*² ("Who am I ?").

Pūr-i Dāvūd describes the attributes of God after Islām and Zoroastrianism³. Akhgar reflects on

¹ *Sukhan.*, i, 396-98.

² *PPR.*, p. 178.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 237-38.

the Life of Man ('Umr-i Insān¹) in the manner of a Buddhist thinker, Sālār proposes to seek Truth in the manner of Maṇṣūr though he may have to go to the gallows like the Messiah². Īzadī represents God in the manner of the *Bhagavadgītā* and Spinoza³. Nizām-i Vafā talks of Pure Love ('Ishq-i Pāk) in the manner of Plato and the Indian Vaishṇava⁴. Aurang would seem to have a unique conception of love as a principle more appealing to reason and imagination than anything earlier, whether found in Sufism or in the Upanishads or in Plato⁵. There are again poets who have said golden words of moral wisdom in the manner of Solomon and Confucius. Thus scrutinized, the modern poetry of Īrān may be shown to strike a note of harmony of all great thoughts and wisdom of the world.

Love, heroism and pathos in the political and patriotic poems.

The desire for a thorough regeneration of the country and the people is the most sincere and laudable of human desires. The love for Īrān is enlivened by a profound patriotic sentiment. Here love assumes the form of filial affection for the mother. This love is sought to be raised to the pedestal of the love of God Almighty.

¹ PPR., p. 72.

² Ib., p. 313F.

³ Ib., p. 178.

⁴ Ib., pp. 607 and 608-9.

⁵ See his poem *Langar-i Ishq* ("The Anchor of Love") in the PPR., pp. 108-9.

One may feel that the modern poets have just transferred one's feeling for one's mother towards Irān. The poetic reflections may be shown to have centred mainly round these two similes : (a) that of the mother and the son, and (b) that of the house and the owner. Irāj Mīrzā has written two poems, one entitled *Mādar*¹ ("Mother"), and the other, *Qalb-i Mādar*² ("A mother's heart"). In the first named poem, the poet wants to tell us that our very existence is all due to the mother, and in the second he pathetically brings out the eternal wish of the mother's heart for the welfare of the son. The same is similarly brought out by Yahyā in his poem *Mihr-i Mādar*³ ("Mother's Love"). Irāj puts the wish into the mouth of the blood-drenched heart of a mother after she was cruelly butchered by her son at the instigation of his sweetheart, while Yahyā puts the same in the mouth of a mother after she was thrown down into a deep well by her thoughtless son. The device followed in the two poems is that of a fabler. But whereas Æsop's fables are noted for their perspicuity, Irāj's poem is annoying on account of details of a description of how the mother was killed by the son and her bleeding heart was taken out to avenge the cause of a woman he loved. The same remark in a milder degree is applicable to the poem of Yahyā. Quite the reverse

¹ *Sukhan*, i, 25 : *PPR.*, pp. 134-35 ; *Irānshahr*, ii, 689.

² *Sukhan*, i, 24-25 : *PPR.*, pp. 124-26 : *Armaghān*, v, 596-97.

³ *Sukhan*, ii, 417-18 : *PPR.*, pp. 666D-67

is the case with the patriotic stanzas in which the poets inspire their countrymen either to avenge the cause or guard the honour of the 'motherland'. The simile of the house and the owner, employed to argue the case forcibly in favour of '*Irān for the Iranians*' derives its significance from a very natural feeling of joy one feels in one's own hearth and home. This is beautifully delineated by *Rashīd-i Yāsimī* in his poem '*Ishq-i Khānavāda*' ("Love for the Home"), which reads very much like the English poem 'Home, Sweet Home !'

The heroism upheld by the poets is of the noblest kind ; it is the valour and courage displayed by such heroes of the past as Rustam and Hurmuzān in defence of their country against the inroads of foreign powers. In it the poets strike a most sincere note.

In the patriotic stanzas deep pathos finds its expression over the irony of fate. Many of them savour of sarcasm, but the seriousness of purpose underlies even a poem, which is apparently a light-hearted one. There is no better example of this than the poem entitled *Qūqūlīqū* ("Cock-a-doodle-do !")

A good fund of humour.

Like the French, the people of Irān have a good fund of humour in them. There is a comic weekly *Ummīd* (now

¹ PPR., pp. 298-300.

² PPMP., pp. 229-30.

defunct) published humorous poems generally meant to amuse and instruct but not to offend. Rūhānī and Bīnīsh may be mentioned as two modern poets noted for their humorous stanzas. Other poets, too, have here and there humorous poems to their credit. Pun or play upon words serves as usual literary instrument of humour. The element of humour is present also in the amorous and patriotic poems, though in them it tends to be ironical in places.

Habīb-i Yaghmā'ī observes about his contemporary Mīrzā Husayn Khān poetically surnamed Masrūr, a contemporary poet :

در ده ر بھر که بنگری دنخود است
از خرمی و نشاط و شادی دور است
مسرور در این جهان یکی دا دیدم
آن هم نه خودش تخلص مسرور است¹

In this world any one whom I see is sad and is far from happiness, jollity and gaiety

I found only one 'Masrūr' (happy) in this world but not he himself rather his pen-name is such.

Rūhānī criticizes the Members of the *Majlis*, saying :

کر کار بمجاسن و کلام کم کردند در آخر کار کار حاتم کردند
باج خرو اسپ و گاؤز را بخشیدند آسایش نوع خود فراهم کردند²

If the Members of the Parliament have done little work they have at length done the work of the generous Hātim³,

¹ *Sukhan*. ii, 329 foot-note, n. 1.

² *Fukāhiyyat-i Rūhānī*, p. 74, *Sukhan*. i, 122.

³ Name of a man of the Arabian tribe Tā'iyy, proverbial for his liberality.

They have repealed the taxes on asses, horses and cows,
they have actually provided ease for their own kind.

Witticism.

Some of the poems display a good deal of witticism. Furāt in his poem *Mah-i bī-mihr*, ("The Unkind Moon") records :

گفت با شیخ ظریفی که ز شیطان بگریز
گفت هر سوی گریزان شده شیطان از من^۱

A witty man said to a priest, "Avoid Satan";
"Satan is avoiding me at every turn", said the priest.

In some of the poem the wit displayed is altogether ludicrous, if not offensive. Spenta, for instance, writes :

فرموده مسیح سرود اهلِ یقین خربت زند ارکسی برویت از کین
بنای دگر سوی دخت از سرِ مهر ایکاش بوای بوسه بود حکم چنین^۲

Jesus, the leader of the faithful, said, "Should a person through spite smite thee on one cheek ;

" Turn with gentleness the other cheek to him";
Would to God such a command were given for a kiss too !

Taṣnīf and *Surūd*.

The *taṣnīf* (chanson) has also been considerably gaining in popularity ever since the movement for the Constitution began. On account of its topical character, simplicity of style and adaptability to music, this form of composition has played an important part in rousing public consciousness. But as most of the composi-

¹ PPR., pp. 508-9.

² Ibid., p. 322.

tions of this class, which are polemic in character and are written in different dialects, refer to some local incidents or interest of ephemeral nature, they rapidly pass into oblivion. The *surūd* ("song"), too, like the *taṣnīf* has become fairly popular in these days. It has served as a fitting vehicle for patriotic and national songs. There is, however, much scope for the improvement of these classes of composition provided the poets having an ear for music take an interest in them. For the most part, they are now composed by poets who have no ear for music or by composers who are not well-versed in the art of poetry.

Modern poets as
compared with the
classical masters.

The modern period with all its
redeeming features and drawbacks
is a period of Romanticism in the

poetry of Irān. Like the Romantic movement in English literature, it is essentially a production of the freedom of thought. If, as openly admitted by modern poets, Firdausī is the inspirer of valour and courage, Rūdakī of songs and music, 'Umar Khayyām of courage of conviction, bold expression of thought, and drunkenness of human spirit, Sā'dí of wisdom and insatiable thirst for knowledge and broadening of human outlook, and Hāfiẓ of mysticism and love of God, are we to understand that the modern poets have remained all spellbound by the greatness and grandeur of the masters of the past and their writings have in no respects excelled

the classical master-pieces ?

Granted that among the modern poets none has produced till now a grand national epic of the volume and size of Firdausī's *Shāhnāma*. But who can deny that the whole of the *Shāhnāma* has been admirably reproduced, in substance and quality, by many a poet of the present age ? The causes, national or other, advocated by Firdausī, have all been advocated by the modern poets. The noble tradition of ancient kings and dynasties of Īrān, the valour and courage of Rustam and Hurmuzān and the veneration for the religion of Zoroaster and the holy scriptures of the Zoroastrians, etc. are all strongly upheld in modern poetry and songs. The political and patriotic poems of Pūr-i Dāvūd, almost all without exception, read as nothing but the great *Shāhnāma* put in a nut-shell with a broader national outlook, a much larger conception of national duties and responsibilities and a robust hope for the future of the country. The materials of 'Ishqī's famous 'operetta' *Rastākhīz* are all drawn from the great *Shāhnāma*. Here they are presented altogether in a new literary form serving as a suitable garb for the new-born national spirit and consciousness. Whereas Firdausī narrated the tales of the ancient kings only to see them vanish or buried in the dark gloom of the long night which was to come over the history of Īrān, 'Ishqī's *Rastākhīz* is intended to bring all of them back to life again and to see their noble spirit permeate the whole nation. Whereas

Firdausī concluded his *Shāhnāma* with the despair and deep sigh of a dying nation, 'Ishqī has brought his 'operetta' to a close with the noblest of human desires and a hopeful message of peace and prosperity, put in the mouth of Zoroaster :

O East, arise and put the West to shame !

Unless the East sleeps how can the Sun of the West rise ? The West woke up only when the East went to sleep !

I hope that when the East will gain power, she will use her strength to bring peace to the world.

And not, like the West she will drive men from place to place, nor will she insult humanity and civilization ; Henceforth let no one in bondage be ; let everyone live his life and be free¹.

¹ *Divān-i 'Ishqī*, p. 29; PPR., p. 480.

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Āyanda ed. by Dr. Maḥmūd Khān Afshār—a literary, political, social & economical monthly, endured for two years (A.H. 1343-46/A.D. 1925-28).

Bahār ed. by Yūsuf-i I'tisāmī for two years, A.H. 1338-40.

Bulletin de L'Association Française des Amis de l'Orient, Paris.

Dānish-kada ed. by Maliku'sh-Shu'arā Bahār, A.H. 1336/(1918-1919).

Gul-i Zard ed. by Yaḥyā Khān Raihān started in 1336 continued for four years—a literary paper of the type of the *Nasīm-i Shimāl*.

Īrān League Quarterly—an official organ of the Īrān League, Bombay, started in 1930.

Īrānshahr ed. by Husayn Kāzim-zāda—an entirely literary and scientific monthly review of more popular character than the *Kāva* started from Berlin in 1922 continued till 1927.

Kānūn-i Shu'arā started by Husayn Muṭī'i from Ṭihrān in A.H. 1313 (solar)—entirely devoted

to present-day poetry of Irān continued for three years.

Kāra (New Series) 1920-21 ed. by Sayyid Ḥasan Taqī-zāda, a monthly of highly literary and critical value started from Berlin.

Mihir ed. by Majd-i Mu'aqqir, the editor of the daily *Irān*,—one of the best monthly magazines till now published from Tīhrān.

Namakdān ed. by 'Abdu'l Husayn Khān Āyati, Tīhrān now defunct.

Nasīm-i Shīmāl ed. by Sayyid Ashrafu'd-Dīn, started from Rāshīt in A.H. 1325 and continued till 1329—one of the best literary papers containing notable poems both serious and satirical.

Naw Bahār ed. by Maliku'sh-Shū'arā Bahār, A.H. 1301 (solar)—a literary and political weekly.

Sūr-i Isrāfil—a weekly paper edited by Mirzā Jahāngīr Khān of Shīrāz, started in 1907, chiefly known for its comical and satirical column '*Charand Parand*' ("Charivari") contributed by 'Alī Akbar Khān Dihkhudā (*Dakhaw*), first appeared May 30th, 1907 and was brought to an end on June 20th, 1908.

Ta'lim u Tarbiyyat (now *Āmūzish u Parvarish*) a monthly official organ of the Ministry of Public Instruction, Irān, started in A.H. 1304 (solar) under the direction and supervision of 'Alī Aşghar Khān Hikmat.

Ummid, founded by Āqā-yi Ittiḥād in A.H. 1308 (solar) from Tīhrān.

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